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Vol. 20

April 1955

No. 2

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Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

VOLUME 20

APRIL, 1955

NUMBER 2

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THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 372-374 Broadway, Albany, New York, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October, and December. Copyright 1955 by the American Sociological Society.

★ Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$10.00 per year. Subscription rate, \$6.00. Single issues, \$1.25. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States and Canada; other countries, \$1.00 per year.

Four weeks' advance notice to Executive Office, and old address as well as new, are necessary for change of subscriber's address.

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Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Albany, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 23, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P.L. and R., authorized June 4, 1938.

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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

April
1955

Volume 20
Number 2

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CHILD TRAINING PRACTICES *

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THE vital importance of early parent-child relationships in the etiology of behavior deviations has been widely accepted in clinical practice, and a number of systematic psychological studies have been focused on the general problem of the effects of early environment and parental treatment on the individual's later personality.¹ These studies have been of two major types. One group of investigations has

stressed the importance of *general familial attitudes and broadly defined parent-child relationships*—such as democracy in the home, control in the home, activity in the home,² acceptance of physical contact, prolongation of infant care, prevention of independent behavior, maternal dominance, and maternal indulgence,³ skillful and tender mothering, conscious or unconscious rejection⁴—as determinants of the development of the personality of the child. Most studies of this type have been concerned with the consequences of post-infancy experiences, the general environment, and current parental attitudes on the personalities of nursery school or older children. For example, Bald-

*The writers wish to acknowledge the support of the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station and the University Research Committee, the computational assistance of the Numerical Analysis Laboratory, and the statistical assistance of William L. Hansen and Oluf M. Davidsen.

¹See: A. L. Baldwin, "Socialization and the Parent-Child Relationship," *Child Development*, 19 (1948), pp. 127-136; A. T. Childers and B. M. Hamil, "Emotional Problems in Children as Related to the Duration of Breast Feeding in Infancy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 2 (1932), pp. 134-142; E. F. Goldman, "Breast Feeding and Character Formation," in C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray (Eds.), *Personality*, New York: Knopf, 1953, pp. 146-184; B. C. F. Rogerson and C. H. Rogerson, "Feeding in Infancy and Subsequent Psychological Difficulties," *Journal of Mental Science*, 85 (1939), pp. 1163-1182; D. Levy, *Maternal Overprotection*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943; A. H. Maslow and I. Szilagyi-Kessler, "Security and Breast Feeding," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 41 (1946), pp. 83-85; C. H. Peterson and F. Spano, "Breast Feeding, Maternal Rejection and Child Personality," *Character and Personality*, 10 (1941),

pp. 62-66; W. H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (1952), pp. 150-159; W. H. Sewell and P. H. Mussen, "The Effects of Feeding, Weaning, and Scheduling Procedures on Childhood Adjustment and the Formation of Oral Symptoms," *Child Development*, 23 (1952), pp. 185-191; J. R. Thurston and P. H. Mussen, "Infant Feeding Gratification and Adult Personality," *Journal of Personality*, 19 (1951), pp. 449-458.

²A. L. Baldwin, J. Kallhorn, and F. H. Breese, "Patterns of Parental Behavior," *Psychology Monograph*, 58 (1945), No. 3.

³D. Levy, *Maternal Overprotection*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

⁴M. A. Ribble, "Infantile Experience in Relation to Personality Development," in J. McV. Hunt (Ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, New York: Ronald, 1944, pp. 621-651.

win⁵ was able to demonstrate the impact of a democratic home environment upon the personality development of nursery school children, particularly on their aggressions, fears, and leadership characteristics, and Levy⁶ delineated the effects of maternal overprotection in early childhood on later social relationships.

The second type of study deals with the relationship between *specific infant care practices and later personality*.⁷ Although there has been much clinical literature, especially by psychoanalytically-oriented writers,⁸ which implicitly or explicitly main-

tains that there is a cause-effect relationship between feeding or toilet training practices and later personality, empirical studies have not generally confirmed these clinical observations.⁹

Nevertheless, the infant's first social contacts are those with his parents and most of them involve the specific handling of his feeding, sleep, and expulsion needs. These relationships are probably the most important aspect of the infant's early environment. Early treatment and care must be somehow influential in determining the course of the child's later personality development, although the relationship between the specific techniques of child training and particular personality traits may not be as direct or as great as many psychoanalytically-oriented writers believe.¹⁰

It has been suggested that the practices a mother uses are reflections of her basic attitudes toward her child. Levy, for example, has stated, "In general, all factors favoring rejection of the child tend to shorten, all factors favoring overprotection tend to lengthen, the breast-feeding act,"¹¹ while Ribble maintains that "emotionally disturbed women and those who either consciously or unconsciously reject the child are as unable to 'mother' it as they are to

⁵ A. L. Baldwin, "Socialization and the Parent-Child Relationship," *Child Development*, 19 (1948), pp. 127-136.

⁶ D. Levy, *Maternal Overprotection*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

⁷ See: A. T. Childers and B. M. Hamil, "Emotional Problems in Children as Related to the Duration of Breast Feeding in Infancy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 2 (1932), pp. 134-142; E. F. Goldman, "Breast Feeding and Character Formation," in C. Kluckhohn, and H. A. Murray (Eds.), *Personality*, New York: Knopf, 1953, pp. 146-184; B. C. F. Rogerson and C. H. Rogerson, "Feeding in Infancy and Subsequent Psychological Difficulties," *Journal of Mental Science*, 85 (1939), pp. 1163-1182. A. H. Maslow and I. Szilagi-Kessler, "Security and Breast Feeding," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 41 (1946), pp. 83-85; C. H. Peterson and F. Spano, "Breast Feeding, Maternal Rejection and Child Personality," *Character and Personality*, 10 (1941), pp. 62-66; W. H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (1952), pp. 150-159; W. H. Sewell and P. H. Mussen, "The Effects of Feeding, Weaning, and Scheduling Procedures on Childhood Adjustment and the Formation of Oral Symptoms," *Child Development*, 23 (1952), pp. 185-191; J. R. Thurston and P. H. Mussen, "Infant Feeding Gratification and Adult Personality," *Journal of Personality*, 19 (1951), pp. 449-458.

⁸ See: K. Abraham, "The Influence of Oral Eroticism on Character Formation," in *Selected Papers*, London: Hogarth Press, 1942; O. S. English and G. H. J. Pearson, *Emotional Problems of Living*, New York: Norton, 1945; E. Glover, "Notes on Oral Character Formation," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 6 (1925), pp. 131-153; G. Pearson, "Some Early Factors in the Formation of Personality," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1 (1941), pp. 284-291; G. H. J. Pearson, *Emotional Disorders of Children*, New York: Norton, 1949; M. A. Ribble, "Infantile Experience in Relation to Personality Development," in J. McV. Hunt (Ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, New York: Ronald, 1944, pp. 621-651.

⁹ See: A. T. Childers and B. M. Hamil, "Emotional Problems in Children as Related to the Duration of Breast Feeding in Infancy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 2 (1932), pp. 134-142; B. C. F. Rogerson and C. H. Rogerson, "Feeding in Infancy and Subsequent Psychological Difficulties," *Journal of Mental Science*, 85 (1939), pp. 1163-1182; C. H. Peterson and F. Spano, "Breast Feeding, Maternal Rejection and Child Personality," *Character and Personality*, 10 (1941), pp. 62-66; W. H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (1952), pp. 150-159; W. H. Sewell and P. H. Mussen, "The Effects of Feeding, Weaning and Scheduling Procedures on Childhood Adjustment and the Formation of Oral Symptoms," *Child Development*, 23 (1952), pp. 185-191; J. R. Thurston and P. H. Mussen, "Infant Feeding Gratification and Adult Personality," *Journal of Personality*, 19 (1951), pp. 449-458.

¹⁰ K. Abraham, "The Influence of Oral Eroticism on Character Formation," in *Selected Papers*, London: Hogarth Press, 1942; E. Glover, "Notes on Oral Character Formation," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 6 (1925), pp. 131-153.

¹¹ D. Levy, "Maternal Overprotection," *Psychiatry*, 2 (1939), p. 103.

secrete milk."¹² Newton and Newton¹³ report that attitudes toward breast feeding are reflected in the physical course of lactation, and in the amount of sucking stimulation the mother allows her child at each feeding.

It seems quite likely that broad general attitudes may be detected by the child and be of great importance to him when he is older (e.g., of nursery school age) but that these general attitudes *per se* will not be apparent to the infant. He will be more strongly influenced by the specific satisfactions and frustrations to which he is exposed; that is, by whether he finds that certain infant care practices bring him feelings of pleasure and gratification or their opposites. It is conceivable, of course, as Levy suggests, that the amounts of reward or frustration the child receives are systematically related to more general parental attitudes. If this is true, then such attitudes, though not directly perceived by the child, may be said to affect the way in which he is treated and, consequently, his well-being. If general parental attitudes influence or determine the nature of child training, consistency in infant care practices might be expected. This would mean that positive accepting attitudes toward the child would lead to the use of "favorable" practices in many phases of child rearing; negative attitudes would result in the use of "unfavorable" practices.¹⁴

¹² M. A. Ribble, "Infantile Experience in Relation to Personality Development," in J. McV. Hunt (Ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, New York: Ronald, 1944, p. 633.

¹³ N. R. Newton and M. Newton, "Relationship of Ability to Breast Feed and Maternal Attitudes Toward Breast Feeding," *Pediatrics*, 5 (1950), pp. 869-875.

¹⁴ The terms "favorable practices" and "recommended practices" refer throughout this report to those practices generally recommended in psychological, psychiatric, and pediatric writings for gratifying the child and for promoting the growth of secure, unneurotic personalities; "unfavorable practices" refers to their opposites. There is disagreement among authorities as to which practices should be labeled favorable. Whether or not these practices have the effects on personality that some writers claim is an unsettled issue and beyond the scope of this research. Evidence from some recent studies seems to indicate that there are no simple relationships between specific practices and particular personality characteristics. See: W. H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58

Specifically, recommended practices in one area, e.g., feeding, should be associated with recommended practices in other aspects of infant care regimen, e.g., toilet training. Thus, if it is true that rejection is a generalized attitude and that the rejecting mother uses a short breast feeding period, it would probably also be true that she would be rigid and severe in her toilet training regimen. In other words, the kinds of general parental attitudes found to be important in later relationships with the child would be reflected in specific behavior with respect to the earliest child training procedures as well.

The present exploratory study was designed to determine the relationships among child training practices of both the infancy and the post-infancy period. Its purpose was to determine the extent to which favorable techniques are associated with each other or fall into constellations or groups of interrelated practices. If most of the practices are highly intercorrelated, it would seem reasonable to consider that there is in fact some general underlying attitude, such as acceptance or rejection, which is reflected in most of the specific practices and may account for the correlations discovered.

SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURE

The present paper is based on data which were collected by William H. Sewell as part of an extensive study of child rearing practices and personality development.¹⁵ The subjects of the study were 162 five- and six-year-old, rural Wisconsin children and their families. In order to control gross occupational, cultural, and socioeconomic influ-

(1952), pp. 150-159; W. H. Sewell and P. H. Mussen, "The Effects of Feeding, Weaning, and Scheduling Procedures on Childhood Adjustment and the Formation of Oral Symptoms," *Child Development*, 23 (1952), pp. 185-191; J. R. Thurston and P. H. Mussen, "Infant Feeding Gratification and Adult Personality," *Journal of Personality*, 19 (1951), pp. 449-458.

¹⁵ W. H. Sewell, "Field Techniques in Social Psychological Study in a Rural Community," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (1949), pp. 718-726; W. H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (1952), pp. 150-159. W. H. Sewell and P. H. Mussen, "The Effects of Feeding, Weaning, and Scheduling Procedures on Childhood Adjustment and the Formation of Oral Symptoms," *Child Development*, 23 (1952), pp. 185-191.

ences, only unbroken, middle-class, native American families were studied.

Data on training practices were obtained from intensive personal interviews with the mothers, conducted in their homes by trained interviewers, using guided interview techniques. The interview actually covered many aspects of parent-child relations, personal adjustment of the child, and the family's and child's community relations, but for purposes of the present study only child training and disciplinary practices were considered.

From the extensive data collected, 38 items which specifically involved infant care, child training procedures, and the handling of disciplinary problems were extracted. This is not a complete list of possible items but it does include the training practices most generally considered to be important influences on the child's personality. Many of the items are responses to direct questions of the interview, while others represent the interviewer's categorization of the mother's response to less direct questions about her practices. Moreover, the data regarding some of the variables yielded continuous distributions (e.g., length of breast feeding), while the data regarding other practices were handled in terms of dichotomies (e.g., handling of masturbation: ignored or punished) or trichotomies (e.g., insisting that child eat everything on his plate: usually, sometimes, never). A high score in any variable meant that a recommended practice was employed. Table 1 lists the 38 child rearing variables studied and the specific response categories used in each case. The favorable practice or high score for each variable is indicated in the table.

RESULTS

In order to determine the degrees of relationship among the 38 child training variables, the score on each variable was correlated with the score on every other variable. Table 2 gives the complete matrix of intercorrelations.

Inspection of the matrix makes it clear that there is a large number of very low correlations.¹⁶ Of the total of 703 correla-

¹⁶ Several influences, other than the lack of real linear relationship, may possibly have contributed to the low correlations. First, many of the

tions, only 123 are significant at the 5 per cent level (the minimum product-moment correlation for significance at the 5 per cent level of confidence with samples of this size is slightly greater than .15); and of these, only 57 are significant at the 1 per cent level (the correlation necessary for significance at the 1 per cent level of confidence is slightly greater than .20). Although the number of significant correlations is considerably greater than the number which would be expected on the basis of chance alone, the great majority of the correlations are insignificant, many of them being near zero. Moreover, approximately one-third of the significant correlations are negative, indicating that favorable practices in one area are often significantly associated with unfavorable practices in another.

These findings seem to justify the conclusion that for the parents in the present sample there is no general factor which is reflected in all or most of their child training practices.¹⁷ Certainly these results lend no support to the notion that the use of favorable or unfavorable child training practices is determined by some single, pervasive, underlying general attitude, such as acceptance or rejection or maternal dominance or indulgence. If such a generalized attitude existed and were effective in influencing the nature of all or many specific practices, there would have been many more high positive interrelationships in the correlation matrix.

variables were scaled very crudely (e.g., a dichotomy or trichotomy). The effects of this probably lowered at least some of the obtained coefficients, all of which were computed by the product-moment formula. Second, some of the relationships may be curvilinear in nature. If so, the product-moment coefficients would not state the degree of relationship correctly. Third, any unreliability in the data-gathering techniques or in the recording or coding of the interview responses could reduce the measured association.

¹⁷ It is entirely possible that a more sophisticated group of mothers, e.g., wives of professional men or other urban middle or upper class mothers, who may be better informed about current child rearing theories would show more consistency in their child training practices. However, it is quite possible also that other large groups in the urban population would not. These are questions that can be answered only by further study of samples from other populations. In any event, the results of this study should not be generalized to dissimilar populations.

TABLE 1. THE CHILD TRAINING PRACTICES

Child Training Variable	Response Categories
1. Length of breast feeding	Number of months †
2. Length of bottle feeding	Number of months ‡
3. Holding while bottle feeding	Usually *; sometimes; never
4. Feeding schedule	Demand *; regular
5. Age night feeding stopped	Age in months †
6. Age of weaning	Age in months †
7. Has child choice of amount of food on plate	Yes *; no
8. Insistence that child eat everything on plate	Usually; sometimes; never *
9. Sleeping arrangement of infant	With mother *; in mother's room but not in her bed; with siblings; alone
10. Insistence that child naps	Usually; sometimes; never *
11. Age of beginning bowel training	Age in months †
12. Bowel training schedule	No schedule *; regular
13. Handling accidents in bowel training	Ignore *; punish
14. Handling successes in bowel training	Reward *; ignore
15. Age of beginning bladder training	Age in months †
16. Bladder training schedule	No schedule *; regular
17. Handling masturbation	Ignore *; punish
18. Length of time confined to play pen	Number of months ‡
19. Handling of child's mischievousness	Ignore *; punish
20. Age when child allowed to play alone in yard	Age in years ‡
21. Age when child allowed to go to neighbors alone	Age in years ‡
22. Does child have regular jobs?	Yes; no *
23. Handling child's neglect of jobs	Ignore *; punish
24. Activity with parents	Much *; some; little
25. Activity with father	Much *; some; little
26. Activity with mother	Much *; some; little
27. Display of parental affection in front of child	Yes *; no
28. Parental control of fighting	Ignore *; punish
29. Does father insist child mind without question?	Yes; no *
30. Does mother insist child mind without question?	Yes; no *
31. Handling child's disobedience of mother	Ignore *; punish
32. Handling child's disobedience of father	Ignore *; punish
33. Number of times child was spanked in last month	Number ‡
34. Handling child's questions about sex	Truth *; evasion
35. Does child have own spending money?	Yes *; no
36. Is child free to use own money?	Yes *; no
37. Do parents take child on picnics?	Often *; sometimes; never
38. Child's church-going	Often with family *; never or alone

* Favorable aspect of the practice

† The longer the time the more favorable the practice

‡ The shorter the time or the fewer the incidents the more favorable the practice

The large number of nonsignificant and low correlations and the rather high proportion of negative correlations among the significant correlations indicates that there is no single general factor of favorable or unfavorable treatment which is reflected in the child training practices studied. However, there may still be psychologically meaningful constellations in this large group of practices. To find and isolate any such constellations, the matrix of intercorrelations was factor-analyzed by the multiple group method using the calculation procedure outlined by Harris

and Schmid.¹⁸ In extracting the factors a set of four correlated factors was first extracted; then a set of two other correlated factors was extracted from the residuals; and finally two additional factors were extracted sequentially. The final factor that was extracted was taken as a centroid factor. The calculated communalities for the eight factors account for approximately 33 per cent of the total variance, which indicates that,

¹⁸ C. W. Harris and J. Schmid, "Further Application of the Principles of Direct Rotation in Factor Analysis," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 18 (1950), pp. 175-193.

TABLE 2. INTERCORRELATIONS OF CHILD TRAINING PRACTICES* (N = 162)

Child Training Practices**	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38		
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* Decimals preceding each entry have been omitted.

** Child training practices are numbered as in Table 1.

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TABLE 3. OBLIQUE ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX, V *

Child Training Practice **	V ₁	V ₂	V ₃	V ₄	V ₅	V ₆	V ₇	V ₈	h ²
1	.755	.016	.053	-.039	-.087	.014	.009	-.042	.754
2	.796	-.016	-.053	.039	.087	-.014	-.009	.042	.756
3	.475	.040	.078	-.049	.060	.041	.146	.195	.356
4	.298	.028	.064	-.018	-.404	.084	-.045	.054	.426
5	-.034	.051	-.008	-.020	-.352	.059	.063	.288	.281
6	-.158	.134	-.125	-.068	-.060	.182	.042	-.065	.129
7	.038	.031	.011	-.004	-.060	-.064	.031	.164	.040
8	.034	.061	.031	.092	-.025	.372	.126	.119	.264
9	.233	.000	-.073	-.006	-.327	-.041	.133	.279	.366
10	-.102	.137	.156	.006	-.157	.372	-.169	.083	.281
11	.013	.725	-.020	-.017	-.060	.041	.017	-.058	.784
12	-.012	.366	.009	-.002	-.030	.445	.022	.217	.503
13	-.058	-.198	-.013	.100	-.045	.205	.018	-.090	.144
14	.007	.109	.222	.137	-.027	-.335	.021	.134	.206
15	-.018	.767	.019	.009	.065	-.016	-.016	.053	.781
16	-.006	.272	-.106	.043	.065	.408	-.061	.098	.367
17	-.023	-.076	.103	.355	-.092	.057	-.006	.077	.185
18	.075	-.090	-.329	.096	.007	.041	.279	.133	.249
19	-.034	-.064	-.093	-.049	.117	.349	.061	-.241	.206
20	-.001	.048	-.043	-.100	-.012	-.064	.207	-.063	.080
21	.076	.076	.063	-.007	.147	.027	-.020	-.205	.089
22	.110	.076	-.070	.012	-.115	-.011	.084	.040	.086
23	.004	.090	.042	.628	-.077	-.032	.009	-.202	.488
24	-.038	.009	.500	.024	-.022	.050	.109	-.123	.370
25	.001	.067	.607	.009	-.075	-.027	-.096	.096	.465
26	.039	-.076	.504	-.029	.097	-.034	-.015	.040	.451
27	.154	-.073	.168	-.191	.145	-.105	-.139	-.141	.197
28	.175	-.124	-.001	-.187	.290	.100	.113	.075	.170
29	-.189	.115	.045	.183	-.010	-.027	.716	-.079	.600
30	.099	.031	.080	.055	.125	-.007	.716	.079	.571
31	.062	-.061	-.062	.255	-.002	.091	.105	.130	.149
32	.029	-.127	-.160	.162	.017	.123	.169	.157	.158
33	-.003	-.090	-.041	.564	.080	.032	-.009	.194	.486
34	-.107	.094	.063	.073	.324	.098	.119	.162	.239
35	.044	-.109	-.135	-.021	.374	-.052	-.098	.200	.240
36	.073	-.004	-.001	-.030	.137	-.041	.138	-.115	.061
37	.039	-.045	.146	-.084	.427	-.043	.015	.117	.340
38	-.163	.058	.162	-.061	.155	.002	-.136	.140	.188

* Decimals properly preceding each entry have been omitted.

** Child training practices are numbered as in Table 1.

on the average, each of the eight factors accounts for only 4 per cent of the total variance. This is merely a reflection of the many low correlations in the original matrix.

Since factor number 8 accounted for only 2 per cent of the total variance, it was decided to stop factoring at this point. This decision was supported by the results of applying the Guilford-Lacey criterion. For the eighth factor, the product of the two highest factor coefficients is .080, which is approximately the same as the standard error of a zero product-moment coefficient derived from 162 cases.

The factoring method employed gave distinct structure and pattern values for the sets of correlated factors. The pattern values were transformed into correlations with the simple axes by applying the appropriate constants of proportionality,¹⁹ and the resulting matrix examined. Pair-by-pair plots of the factors indicated a few rather obvious rotations. These were made and the inter-correlations of the primary factors computed. The rotated V matrix is given in Table 3 and

¹⁹ C. W. Harris and D. M. Knoell, "The Oblique Solution in Factor Analysis," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 39 (1948), pp. 385-403.

the intercorrelations of factors in Table 4.

The factorial matrix, given in Table 3, will be examined by columns in an attempt to interpret the psychological significance of the factors. For purposes of these interpretations a projection or factor loading of .200 or over was arbitrarily considered significant. To clarify the meanings of the factors all the practices significantly loaded with a factor are labeled in accordance with recommended practice or high score in the variables. Thus, the variable dealing with length of breast feeding is designated "long duration of breast feeding," and the one dealing with the handling of successes in bowel training is called "successes in bowel training rewarded," and so on.

Factor 1 is concerned primarily with feeding variables. Items with significant loadings on this factor, in order of magnitude, are:

Loading	Variable
.796	short duration of bottle feeding
.755	long duration of breast feeding
.475	infant usually held when bottle fed
.298	infant fed on demand
.233	infant slept with mother

The variables loaded positively with this factor involve the infant's self-regulation of his feeding and a long period of maximum body contact in early feeding situations.²⁰ It is generally considered that such practices reflect a permissive attitude on the part of the mother and may generate feelings of security in the infant. Consequently, the factor has been tentatively labeled *permissiveness in early feeding*.

Factor 2 deals with the toilet training complex and may be characterized as *permissiveness in toilet training*. The variables significantly saturated with this factor and their factor loadings in order of magnitude are:

Loading	Variable
.767	bladder training began late
.725	bowel training began late
.366	bowel training without schedule
.272	bladder training without schedule

The isolation of this factor suggests that recommended toilet training practices tend to cluster together and form a constellation.

²⁰ It should be noted that such variables as "infant slept with mother" and "long duration of breast feeding" refer to infancy. In general these practices were not prolonged enough to indicate maternal overprotection.

Factor 3 has been tentatively identified as the *parent-child interaction factor*, since the following variables are significantly loaded with it:

Loading	Variable
.607	much activity with father
.504	much activity with mother
.500	much activity with parents
.222	success in bowel training rewarded
-.329	short duration confined to playpen

There is spurious overlap among the three variables dealing with activity with the parents, since they are logically related and, from the nature of the items, a high score in one usually implies a high score in another. It is possible that what underlies this factor is the parents' enjoyment of the child; hence, much activity with him. Rewarding success in bowel training may be a manifestation of this enjoyment. Confining the child to the playpen for a long period (factor loading is negative) may be a means of keeping the child close and in interaction with the parents during his waking hours.

Factor 4 is essentially a *nonpunitive treatment factor*. Items with significant loadings on this factor in order of magnitude are:

Loading	Variable
.628	ignore child's neglect of jobs
.564	spanked few times
.355	ignore masturbation
.255	ignore child's disobedience of mother

The variables that have significant projections on this factor on the one hand may have a common basis in the effort of the parents to avoid punishing the child for misbehaviors which, according to general societal standards, might warrant punishment. On the other hand, this factor may reflect indifference on the part of the parents to the usual standards of child training or even to the child himself.

Factor 5, tentatively identified as a *promotion of independence factor*, significantly saturates the following:

Loading	Variable
.427	take child on picnics
.374	child has own spending money
.324	nonevasion of child's questions about sex
.290	ignore child's fighting
-.404	infant fed on demand
-.352	night feeding stopped at late age
-.327	infant slept with mother

These practices suggest a pattern of activities that promotes the independence of

the child, beginning in infancy with the early establishment of a regular feeding schedule. The early cessation of night feeding and requiring the infant to sleep alone or with siblings are consistent with a behavior pattern that emphasizes the desirability of the infant's "growing up" or becoming independent as rapidly as possible.

Factor 6 may be described as a *casual treatment factor*. Seven child rearing practices are significantly loaded with it:

Loading	Variable
.445	bowel training without schedule
.408	bladder training without schedule
.372	not insisting child take nap
.372	not insisting child eat everything on plate
.349	ignore mischievousness
.205	ignore accidents in bowel training
-.335	success in bowel training rewarded

Casualness and lack of rigid regulations and scheduling in the handling of the child seem to be the parents' characteristics which are common to all these procedures. Whereas ignoring and non-scheduling are generally considered favorable practices, failure to reward success in bowel training (negative loading on this factor) is not. Procedures reflecting a casual attitude on the part of the parents, rather than preconceived notions of "good" treatment for the child, seem to be involved in this factor.

Factor 7 is difficult to define since it is primarily a doublet.

Loading	Variable
.716	mother does not insist child mind without question
.716	father does not insist child mind without question
.279	short duration confined to playpen
.207	child allowed to play alone in yard at early age

The factor may be described as a *non-insistence factor* but it must be considered highly tentative since so few variables are involved.

Factor 8 is a residual factor for which no interpretation is offered.

Loading	Variable
.288	night feeding stopped at late age
.279	infant slept with mother
.217	bowel training without schedule
.200	child has own spending money
-.241	ignore mischievousness
-.205	child allowed to go to neighbors alone at early age
-.202	ignore child's neglect of jobs

It should be clearly noted that these factors have been presented most tentatively because: (1) there are relatively few significant intercorrelations among the 38 practices; (2) the number of variables significantly loaded with each factor (the ones from which the tentative names and interpretations of the factors have been derived) is small; and (3) the factor loadings are not uniformly large. Despite these shortcomings, the factors which have been identified are suggestive. Examination of them indicates that for the most part the child rearing practices fall into patterns which may be important for the child's subsequent development. Specifically, a summary of the seven primary factors (there is also an unnamed residual factor) isolated indicates that there are constellations of: (1) permissive early feeding practices; (2) permissive toilet training practices; (3) parents' participation in much activity with the child; (4) nonpunitive treatments; (5) variables making for early independence of the child; (6) casual treatments on the part of the parents in a number of situations; and (7) non-insistent reactions on the part of the parents.

The table of intercorrelations of the factors (Table 4) suggests that:

(1) The *permissiveness in early feeding factor* is significantly correlated (using .20 as an arbitrary standard) with the *parent-child interaction factor*, the *nonpunitive treatment factor* and the *casual treatment factor*. However, the correlation with the *nonpunitive treatment factor* is negative. Generally speaking, the parents who are permissive in their early feeding practices tend to participate in much activity with the child, to treat him casually, but to punish for misbehavior.

(2) The *permissiveness in toilet training factor* is positively correlated with the *parent-child interaction factor* and negatively correlated with the *nonpunitive treatment factor*. In other words, parents who follow recommended techniques with regard to toilet training tend to participate in much activity with the child, but tend to punish him for misbehavior.

(3) The *parent-child interaction factor* is correlated with four factors. It is positively associated with the *permissiveness in early*

feeding factor, the *permissiveness in toilet training factor* and the *promotion of independence factor*, and is negatively associated with the *nonpunitive treatment factor*. Thus, parents who participate in much activity with the child tend to be permissive in early feeding and toilet training procedures, to promote the child's independence, but to punish for misbehavior.

(4) The *nonpunitive treatment factor* is associated with four factors. It is negatively correlated with the *permissiveness in early feeding factor*, the *permissiveness in toilet training factor* and the *parent-child interaction factor*, but is positively correlated with the *casual treatment factor*. Thus, parents who do not punish the child for misdeemeanors tend to treat him casually, to spend

DISCUSSION

From the correlations found among the 38 variables it is clear that the parents included in this study do not have generalized attitudes toward their children which can be inferred directly from the child training procedures they employ. Neither does it appear that they have a single, pervasive philosophy governing all aspects of their child training behavior. Thus, they may follow what appears to be permissive treatment with respect to one practice or during one period of the child's development, but employ restrictive techniques in other aspects of training.

It is true, as the groupings of some of these practices into factors make clear, that

TABLE 4. INTERCORRELATIONS OF PRIMARY FACTORS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	1.00							
2	.13	1.00						
3	.25	.46	1.00					
4	-.29	-.24	-.42	1.00				
5	-.16	.09	.23	.12	1.00			
6	.21	-.03	-.05	.21	-.20	1.00		
7	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00	
8	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	1.00

little time in activities with him, and are not permissive in toilet training and early feeding practices.

(5) The *promotion of independence factor* is positively correlated with the *parent-child interaction factor* and is negatively correlated with the *casual treatment factor*. Thus, parents who tend to promote the independence of the child, tend to participate in much activity with him and not to treat him casually.

(6) The *casual treatment factor* is positively associated with two factors: *permissiveness in early feeding* and *nonpunitive treatment*. It is negatively associated with the *promotion of independence factor*. In other words, parents who tend to treat the child casually also tend to be permissive in early feeding training, not to punish for misbehavior and not to promote his independence.

(7) The *non-insistence factor* is uncorrelated with all other factors.

there are areas or clusters of consistent behaviors. Thus, several recommended feeding practices tend to go together; several favorable toilet training practices form a constellation; parents who are nonpunitive in their reactions to one kind of misbehavior on the part of their child also tend to handle other misbehaviors nonpunitively. But these clusters or groups of practices themselves are not necessarily highly or positively correlated with each other. For example, parents who follow recommended procedures with regard to feeding training do not necessarily use favorable toilet training techniques. They tend to participate in many activities with the child but they punish him for misbehavior.

It is not the purpose of this study to attempt explanations of seemingly contradictory child training behaviors on the part of the parents included in the sample. It is entirely possible that there is some consistent and culturally relevant rationale op-

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erating subtly. It is also possible that the parents included in this study have little or no knowledge or awareness of the supposed importance of their day-to-day child training practices on the personality development of their child. Most of their behavior may be more traditional than rational—and possibly more random than planned. These are questions that cannot be answered on the basis of present information. Only by means of carefully designed field studies can adequate data on these points be obtained.

Finally, while it was not the purpose of this report to explore the nature of the relationship between consistent application of favorable or unfavorable training practices and later personality adjustment, some speculation regarding the implications of the results for this problem may be in order. Certainly, it would seem that the continued and consistent application of favorable or unfavorable practices is not the sole determining factor in good or poor adjustment. If it were, most of the children in the sample would be poorly adjusted, for the results indicate that they have undergone training experiences that are inconsistent from one area of training to another or at different periods of their development. Actually, unpublished evidence from personality assessments made thus far indicates that most of the children in the sample are well-adjusted. If further analysis or other studies should show that consistency in child training alone is not an important determinant of later personality adjustment, is it not possible that the sequence of gratification and non-gratification that results from the application of various child training practices may be of greater importance? It can at least be suggested that later gratifications may overcome the adverse effects of earlier frustrations; that is, satisfaction and the establishment of a secure relationship with the mother during toilet training may overcome insecurities arising from poor feeding training; conversely, frustration in toilet training procedures may lead to insecurities which replace feelings of security which had developed as a result of gratifying experiences during early feeding training.²¹ How-

ever, the answer to this question cannot be inferred from any data presented in this paper but must await the systematic formulation and checking of precise hypotheses. The results of this study only permit the conjecture that careful investigation of this question might be rewarding.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this exploratory study, 38 child training practices of the parents of 162 five- and six-year-old rural Wisconsin children were investigated by means of intensive interviews with their mothers. The purpose of the study was to determine the nature and extent of the interrelationship among child training practices generally recommended in psychological, psychiatric, and pediatric writings.

In order to determine the degrees of relationship among the 38 child training variables, each variable was correlated with every other one, high scores being assigned for favorable practices in each case. Of the total of 703 correlations, 123 were significant at the 5 per cent level or better. Although this number of significant correlations was considerably greater than would be expected on the basis of chance alone, the great majority of correlations obtained were insignificant, many of them being extremely low. Moreover, approximately one-third of the significant correlations were negative, indicating that favorable practices in one area were often associated with unfavorable practices

maintain that the child learns to anticipate satisfaction or frustration on the basis of his previous experiences with satisfaction and frustration. After a series of events in which he has been gratified, he expects his next experience to result in satisfaction; after a series of nongratifying experiences, he expects his next experience to result in frustration. The occurrence of frustration when satisfaction was anticipated or the occurrence of satisfaction when frustration was anticipated may lead to a disproportionately strong reaction. Thus, a child to whom both feeding and toilet training have been satisfying experiences may find even mild punishment for misbehavior extremely frustrating. Since he has experienced little or no frustration before, his reaction to it may be very severe, involving the eradication of early established feelings of security and subsequent emotional disturbance. On the other hand, if the child has been subjected to a series of frustrating experiences, a satisfying treatment may have a disproportionately great beneficial effect, changing an insecure child into a secure one.

²¹ Expectancy theory suggests a plausible conceptual framework for further hypotheses and research along these lines. Expectancy theory would

in another. For these reasons it seems reasonable to conclude that for the parents studied there is no general pervasive attitude toward the child, such as acceptance or rejection, which is reflected in all, or most, specific child training practices.

The original matrix of intercorrelations among child training variables was factor-analyzed to isolate meaningful constellations or major dimensions represented in this large group of practices. Seven major factors and one residual factor were thus isolated. The discovery of the seven factors demonstrates that child training variables may be grouped into clusters of: (1) practices which are generally considered to reflect permissiveness in early feeding situations, (2) permissive toilet training practices, (3) practices involving much activity of the parents with the child, (4) nonpunitive treatment of misbehaviors, (5) practices making for early independence, (6) practices reflecting the casual attitudes of the parents in a number of situations, and (7) non-insistent reactions on the part of the parents.

The factor analysis method used in this study yielded correlated factors. The correlations among the factors suggest that:

(1) Parents who employ permissive techniques with respect to feeding tend to participate in much activity with the child, to treat him casually, but to punish for misbehavior.

(2) Parents who are permissive with regard to toilet training tend to participate in many activities with the child but to punish for misbehavior.

(3) Parents who participate in many activities with the child tend to be permissive in their early feeding and toilet training procedures and to promote early independence, but to punish for misbehavior.

(4) Parents who do not punish the child for misbehavior tend not to be permissive in early feeding or toilet training, to par-

ticipate in little activity with him, and to treat him casually.

(5) Parents whose techniques seem to involve the promotion of early independence tend not to treat the child casually and to participate in much activity with him.

(6) Parents who tend to treat the child casually tend to be permissive in early feeding training, not to punish for misbehavior, and not to promote his early independence.

It may be concluded that while there are clusters or areas of consistent child training practices, generally speaking, the parents included in this study do not have a single pervasive philosophy governing all aspects of their child training behavior. Permissiveness or severity in one phase of training may be associated with their opposites in other or later practices.

The results of this study must be considered to be quite tentative. While they indicate clearly that no pervasive attitude such as acceptance or rejection is reflected in any substantial number of specific child training practices studied, this conclusion should not be generalized to other status and ethnic groups until and unless replications corroborate this finding. It should also be pointed out that the results reported may to some degree understate the relationship between child training practices because of the use of the relatively crude techniques that are currently available for use in research of this kind. However, despite any admitted defects, the results of this study throw into serious question the previous generalizations about the interrelationships among child training practices and particularly the belief that specific practices reflect some general attitude toward the child or philosophy of child training on the part of the parents. The negative findings on this point also suggest that there is need for more careful study and assessment of the importance of other aspects of parent-child relationships in the socialization process.

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THE ADJUSTMENT OF MARRIED OFFSPRING TO THEIR PARENTS *

SHELDON STRYKER
Indiana University

THIS report derives from preliminary phases of a larger research into the relations of married offspring and their parents, one aspect of which deals with the mutual adjustment of inter-generational pairs. For this latter purpose, it was necessary to construct an index of married offspring-parent adjustment.¹ The data to be presented here were gathered in an attempt to secure information bearing of the reliability and validity of this instrument.

The initial section of the paper considers the construction and properties of the index, along with the characteristics of the persons responding to it. Then, findings are reported which relate the adjustment of married offspring to their parents, own and affinal, to the following: (1) offspring's reported dependence upon parents; (2) offspring's own status as parent or non-parent; (3) age of offspring; and (4) length of offspring's marriage.

The major portion of the findings concerns the relationship between offspring adjustment to parent and reported dependence upon parent. These data are brought to focus upon a hypothesis offered by Komarovsky, who has suggested that as a consequence of females being more attached to and dependent upon families of orientation than males, in-law problems in marriage will more frequently involve the wife's parents than the husband's.²

The Adjustment Index. The index constructed consisted of a check list of items subsumable under the four categories: af-

fection, intimacy, tension, and sympathy (ego-involvement).³ Roughly 150 items were taken or adapted from diverse adjustment inventories and schedules or devised by the writer. From these ten items in each of the four adjustment areas were selected for the index. The bases for selection were (1) high agreement among ten judges⁴ on proper placement of the item in one or another category; (2) high agreement among the judges on direction—positive or negative—of the item in relation to adjustment; (3) a desire to balance the number of positive and negative items; and (4) a desire to hold duplications in content to a minimum.

The individual responding to the check-list thus has the opportunity either to accept or reject 40 statements as applying to his relationship with a parent. (Sample items: we have little in common; we rarely argue or fight; I can't always tell him what I think.)⁵ Scoring proceeded by subtracting the number of negative items accepted from the number of positive items accepted; a range from +20 (high adjustment) to -20 (low adjustment) was theoretically

³ After considering the discussions of the adjustment concept in the literature in relation to the purposes of the larger study, it did not seem either feasible or particularly desirable to think of adjustment as being unidimensional in character. Thus, no attempt was made to scale adjustment in a technical sense. The present effort to construct an index of the adjustment of married offspring to parents stems largely from Cavan's work with the Angell data on families in the depression. Although the check-list includes only the four adjustment areas mentioned, we do not mean to imply that these exhaust the types of relationships potentially involved in adjustment. Rather, these areas seemed particularly suitable to a check-list approach. Other aspects, for example frequency of contact, which may be investigated more directly, were not included in the check-list but are being considered in the larger study.

⁴ The judges were all graduate students in sociology at Indiana University.

⁵ Those interested in the complete check-list may obtain a copy from the writer.

* Expanded version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1954.

¹ A search of the literature failed to reveal a suitable instrument, available family indices being typically structured in terms of unmarried children and their parents living under one roof.

² Mirra Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (1950), pp. 508-516.

possible. In the work here reported, an actual range from +19 to -15 was obtained.

The check-list was submitted to 104 married persons, 51 males and 53 females, living in university housing at Indiana University. The male subjects ranged between ages 21 and 42, with a mean age of 28.3 years; female subjects ranged between 20 and 39 years, with a mean age of 25.1 years. The subjects had been married from 1 to 12 years, males having been married on the average of 3.9 years, females 4.2 years. Of the respondents, 80 were paired; that is, responses were obtained from both members of 40 married couples. No attempt was made to sample systematically the population of married students; there is, however,

TABLE 1. ADJUSTMENT RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

Reference to	N *	r	Corrected r **
Mother	97	.85	.92
Father	89	.84	.91
Mother-in-law	97	.85	.92
Father-in-law	91	.79	.88

* N's vary, since not all subjects had all parents who were living. All, however, did have at least three living parents, own or affinal.

** Spearman-Brown correction.

no reason to suspect the presence of any particular biasing factor.⁶ These 104 persons were asked to respond to the check-list as it applied to their relationships with each of their own parents and with each of their parents-in-law.

Reliability. An odd-even reliability coefficient of correlation was computed for the responses of these subjects with reference to each parent, with the results shown in Table 1. These correlations, ranging from .88 to .92 seem of satisfactory size, particularly in view of the facts that (1) relatively few items were involved, and (2) respondents could check as many or as few of the items as they desired, that is, they

⁶ There is, further, a partial control over one type of bias "built into" the procedure followed. Data summarized essentially involve comparisons between an individual's response with reference to one parent in contrast with another parent. The characteristics of the individual affecting one relationship would presumably affect the other.

TABLE 2. MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF OFFSPRING, BY SEX, WITH REFERENCE TO VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PARENTS

Reference to	Males			Females		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Mother	47	2.43	6.43	50	6.24	5.70
Father	41	4.10	6.18	48	5.35	6.93
Mother-in-law	48	-1.08	6.11	49	1.16	6.40
Father-in-law	46	1.61	5.76	45	2.78	4.84

were not compelled to accept or reject any given number of items.⁷

Validity. If it may be assumed that adjustment to own parents is better than adjustment to in-laws, and that adjustment of an individual to his father-in-law is better than adjustment to his mother-in-law, then the mean adjustment scores for both male and female respondents with reference to each category of parent provide an indication that the check-list is, at least to a degree, a valid instrument.

Table 2 presents these means, while Table 3 presents the critical ratios of the differ-

TABLE 3. CRITICAL RATIOS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF OFFSPRING, BY SEX, WITH REFERENCE TO VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PARENTS

	Mother	Father	Mother-in-law	Father-in-law
Males				
Mother		1.25	2.72	.62
Father	1.25		3.95	1.93
Mother-in-law	2.72	3.95		2.19
Father-in-law	.62	1.93	2.19	
Females				
Mother		.69	4.16	1.13
Father	.69		3.08	2.09
Mother-in-law	4.16	3.08		1.40
Father in-law	1.13	2.09	1.40	

ences between means for both males and females for each category of parent. While all of the mean differences hypothesized do

⁷ Later work indicates that a true-false mode of response provides still higher odd-even correlations. Since the mode of response used in the present efforts may mean a failure to check items for diverse reasons—neutrality, non-relevance, oversight, or fatigue—it may be well to report that one test correlating the two modes of response for the same subjects produced an *r* of .87.

not reach acceptable levels of significance, most do so, and all are in the expected direction.

On the assumption that females are more closely tied to their families than are males,⁸ the significantly higher (C.R. 3.07) mean score for females than males with reference to mothers provides a bit more evidence of validity.

One further indication of validity is available, although the possible spuriousness of the procedure involved needs to be borne in mind.⁹ The respondents were asked to report how well they "got along" with each of their parents. Dichotomizing their responses into two categories, "Very well" or less, and also dichotomizing the check-list scores into positive and negative scorers, provides frequencies for testing the hypothesis of no relationship between self-ratings and check-list scores for all parents.¹⁰ On the basis of the chi-square test, the hypothesis can safely be rejected for both males and females, considered separately.¹¹

Dependence and Adjustment. Included in the check-list to which responses were obtained, and derived in the same manner as the adjustment items, were ten statements pertaining to "dependence," meaning the superordination or subordination of offspring with reference to parent. (Sample items: asks my advice more than I ask his; I find

I often call on him to help me make my decisions.) One of the more interesting of the findings in this preliminary work is that dependence of offspring, as reported by offspring, appears to be directly related to the adjustment of the offspring in relation to parent. The data which support this generalization appear in Table 4. Dependence scores were trichotomized into the categories "offspring dominant," "neutral" and "parent dominant." Table 4 presents the mean adjustment scores for males and females in these three categories, together with the results of the t-test, checking the significance of the differences between the two extreme categories. The small number of cases involved in these categories should be pointed out, but perhaps more noteworthy is the consistency of the emergent pattern *in spite of* the small N's. With the single exception of a slight reversal in the "offspring dominant" and "neutral" categories for the female-father relationship, mean adjustment scores increase in neat order from the "offspring dominant" through the "neutral" to the "parent dominant" column.

Using the same three categories, sex differences in frequency of reported dependence in the offspring-mother and offspring-

TABLE 4. MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF MALE AND FEMALE OFFSPRING WITH REFERENCE TO VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PARENTS, BY DEPENDENCY CATEGORIES

	(1) Offspring Domi- nant	(2) Neutral	(3) Parent Domi- nant	"t" (3)-(1)
Male				
Mother	.59 N 17	2.00 N 19	5.91 N 11	1.65 p almost .10
Father	-.75 N 12	4.00 N 10	7.21 N 19	3.90 p<.001
Mother-in-law	-2.40 N 15	.73 N 26	1.57 N 7	1.67 p almost .10
Father-in-law	-2.80 N 5	.15 N 27	6.00 N 14	2.41 .05>p>.02
Female				
Mother	.33 N 9	1.36 N 11	8.87 N 31	4.72 p<.001
Father	3.64 N 7	2.05 N 19	8.77 N 22	2.30 .05>p>.02
Mother-in-law	-1.92 N 13	.14 N 22	6.54 N 13	3.73 .01>p>.001
Father-in-law	.50 N 6	2.00 N 23	4.75 N 16	2.39 .05>p>.02

⁸For support of this assumption see: Mirra Komarovsky, *op. cit.*; Paul Wallin, "Sex Differences in Attitude to 'In-laws': a Test of Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (1954), pp. 466-469. Data summarized in the next section of this report provide further evidence in justification of this assumption.

⁹This caution refers, of course, to the logic of correlating two sets of verbal references to the same phenomenon, in this case, adjustment to parent. Perhaps the only justification lies in the possibility of "pulling oneself up by the bootstraps," that is, of replacing a crude index with one somewhat more refined. This, it will be recognized, is a procedure frequently followed. For a case directly comparable to the present, see Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939.

¹⁰Requirements for minimum theoretical frequencies in the chi-square cells prevented testing the relationship for each category of parent separately. In this analysis, respondents with zero scores on the check-list were omitted.

¹¹For male responses, chi-square = 55.8; p less than .001; for female responses, chi-square = 40.9; p less than .001.

father relationships were checked against the hypothesis of no differences. The chi-square analysis indicates that females are significantly more likely to be dependent upon their mothers than are males. The sex difference in dependence upon father does not reach an acceptable level of statistical significance.¹² Inspection of the N's in Table 4 will serve to show that there are no sex differences in dependence relationships with in-laws.

Komarovsky, reasoning from the apparent greater likelihood of females being attached to and dependent upon families of orientation than males, hypothesizes that in-law problems in marriage will more frequently involve the wife's parents than the husband's parents.¹³ A corollary of this reasoning is that the greater the wife's attachment to and dependency upon her parents, the more likely will her husband have in-law difficulties.

A test of this corollary is made possible by the responses of the 40 husband-wife pairs included in the 104 subjects of the present study. Two sets of data are pertinent: (1) the relationship between wife's adjustment and husband's adjustment to her parents; and (2) the relationship between wife's de-

TABLE 5. HUSBANDS' ADJUSTMENT BY WIVES' ADJUSTMENT TO PARENTS

		Above Mean	Below Mean
Wives' Adjustment to Mothers			
Husbands' adjustment to mothers-in-law	Above mean	10	9
	Below mean	9	12
Chi-square = .382; p between .50 and .70.*			
Wives' Adjustment to Fathers			
Husbands' adjustment to fathers-in-law	Above mean	9	5
	Below mean	11	11
Chi-square = .707; p between .30 and .50.			

* If there is doubt concerning the applicability of the chi-square approximation to the treatment of frequencies, then, as is suggested by Fisher, it is necessary to treat the frequencies of a 2 x 2 table by more exact methods. This was done for Tables 5, 6, and 7, since the number of cases is small, following the method described in section 21.02, pp. 96-97, of R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, 10th ed., London and Edinburgh; Oliver and Boyd, 1946. The inferences permissible on the basis of the chi-square test and the more exact method do not differ.

pendency upon and husband's adjustment to her parents.

Adjustment scores of husbands and wives to wives' parents were dichotomized, using mean scores for the 40 couples as the breaking point. The chi-square analysis presented in Table 5 indicates that husbands' adjustment to in-laws is independent of wives' adjustment to their parents.

When husbands' adjustment to in-laws is related to dependency of wives upon parents, an interesting picture emerges. Tables 6 and 7 were constructed by dichotomizing wives' dependency relationships into two categories: neutral and daughter dominant, and parent dominant;¹⁴ and by dichotomizing husbands' adjustment scores as in the preceding table. It will be noted from Table 6 that when wives report dependence upon mother, husbands are less likely to be well-adjusted to their mothers-in-law than they are when

¹² For the offspring-mother relationship, chi-square = 18.05, p less than .001, for the offspring-father relationship, chi-square = 3.82, p between .20 and .10. This finding is in agreement with the theorizing of Komarovsky (*op. cit.*). The finding, however, appears contrary to the implications Winch draws from his data concerning the greater significance of the mother-son relationship within a family unit. Although the differences in the distributions do not quite reach statistical significance, the direction of the dependence relationship for males and own parents—greater for father as compared with mother—is also contrary to Winch's findings. See Robert F. Winch, "Further Data and Observations on the Oedipus Hypothesis: The Consequences of an Inadequate Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (1951), pp. 784-795.

¹³ Komarovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 515. Komarovsky marshals fragments of supporting evidence from the researches of Winch, Williams, Burgess and Cottrell, and Terman. In a recent article, Wallin presents data from the Burgess-Wallin engagement study which are taken as failing to confirm the hypothesis. Wallin, *op. cit.* However, Wallin's data do not seem adequate to test the hypothesis formulated. As Wallin recognizes, the questions to which his subjects responded were not precisely pertinent. Further, these questions deal with "attachment" alone, and not with "dependency."

¹⁴ It was necessary to combine the neutral and daughter dominant categories in order to meet minimal frequency requirements for the chi-square test.

TABLE 6. HUSBANDS' ADJUSTMENT BY WIVES-MOTHERS DEPENDENCY RELATIONSHIP

		Daughter-Dominant and Neutral	Mother-Dominant
Husbands' adjustment to mothers-in-law	Above mean	10	7
	Below mean	5	17
	Chi-square = 4.72; p less than .05.		
Husbands' adjustment to fathers-in-law	Above mean	6	8
	Below mean	9	13
	Chi-square = .013; p greater than .90.		

wives are dominant or the dependency relationship is neutral. As Table 1 shows, this finding is *reversed* in the case of the offspring-father (in-law) relationship. It appears that husbands are more likely to be well-adjusted to their fathers-in-law when their wives report dependency upon their fathers. Wife's dependency upon mother does not appear to affect husband's adjustment to father-in-law; nor does her dependency upon father appear to affect his adjustment to mother-in-law.

Thus, the present findings in part support the corollary drawn from Komarovsky's theorizing, but also suggest that it requires greater specificity. It appears from these data that attachment, insofar as it can be equated with the measure of adjustment used

TABLE 7. HUSBANDS' ADJUSTMENT BY WIVES-FATHERS DEPENDENCY RELATIONSHIP

		Daughter-Dominant and Neutral	Father-Dominant
Husbands' adjustment to fathers-in-law	Above mean	3	11
	Below mean	15	7
	Chi-square = 7.48; p less than .01.		
Husbands' adjustment to mothers-in-law	Above mean	7	8
	Below mean	12	9
	Chi-square = .385; p greater than .50.		

in this study, and dependency of wife in relation to her parents have different implications for husband's adjustment to in-laws. It appears, further, that dependency has implications only for the adjustment of husband to the particular parent on whom his wife is dependent. And, finally, it appears that dependency itself has different implications for husband's adjustment in the cases of the wife-mother and wife-father relationships.

Adequate discussion of these conclusions is not possible at this point. It may, however, even at the risk of offering *ad hoc* explanations, be useful to suggest a rationale for the finding that husband's adjustment to mother-in-law tends to be poor when wife is dependent upon her mother, and good when she is dependent on her father. It is the writer's opinion that the explanation may be sought in at least two directions: (1) the cultural acceptability of male dominance over female; and (2) the greater probability of mother dominance, as compared to father dominance, being exercised in the day-to-day events of family life.

The Presence or Absence of Children and Adjustment to Parents. Respondents were dichotomized into those with children and those without children, and mean adjustment scores computed for both males and females in these categories in relation to each of the categories of parents. These means, together with the results of tests of significance between means are presented in Table 8. It will be noted that females with children are significantly better adjusted to their mothers than are females without children, as are males with children as compared to males without children. Further, the difference between the adjustment of males with children to their fathers as compared to males without children approaches statistical significance. Since respondents with children are older than those without, the question arises concerning whether these findings are a result of some maturity factor. That this is not the case is indicated by two sets of facts: (1) the absence of significant differences in the adjustment of those with and without children to all categories of parents; (2) correlations run between age and adjustment for males and females for each parent category all approxi-

mate zero.¹⁵ One possible interpretation of these findings is that with the coming of children, offspring are more likely to appreciate the problems and difficulties of their own parents.

One might speculate on the fact that there is no difference in the adjustment of females with and without children to father, while the difference for males approaches statistical significance. It is possible that this results from a differential "obviousness" factor

for males, which may reflect the apparent fact that females bear the onus for childless families in our society.

SUMMARY

Data gathered in an attempt to investigate the reliability and validity of a checklist index, designed to measure the adjustment of married offspring to their own and affinal parents, have been described. Find-

TABLE 8. MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF OFFSPRING, BY SEX, WITH AND WITHOUT OWN CHILDREN, WITH VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PARENTS

Reference to	Males		"t"	Females		"t"
	With Children	Without Children		With Children	Without Children	
Mother	4.17 N 29	— .08 N 13	2.35 .05 > p > .02	7.61 N 33	3.25 N 16	2.72 .01 > p > .001
Father	5.27 N 26	1.09 N 11	1.96 .1 > p > .05	5.97 N 31	5.63 N 16	.15 .9 > p > .8
Mother-in-law	— .64 N 28	.62 N 13	.69 .5 > p > .4	2.32 N 31	1.31 N 16	.46 .7 > p > .6
Father-in-law	1.52 N 27	3.08 N 13	.88 .4 > p > .3	3.20 N 30	1.62 N 16	1.05 .4 > p > .3

in the roles of parents. The male can hardly avoid recognizing the import of the mother role, yet he is also likely to be aware of the significance of his own father role. It may be easier for the female to minimize or not recognize the importance of the father role.

Age and Number of Years Married and Adjustment to Parents. The absence of any relationship between age of offspring, as such, and adjustment to parents has been noted. The same is true of number of years married: for these respondents, the correlations between number of years married and adjustment to parents also approximate zero. There is one suggestive finding concerning age, however, that deserves mention in spite of the small number of cases involved. There is some indication in our data that of females with children, the older tend to be better adjusted to their own parents, while of females without children, the younger tend to be better adjusted to their own parents. The same finding does not hold

ings concerning the reliability and validity of the index were reported, as were findings dealing with the relationship of offspring adjustment to parent and reported dependence upon parent, offspring's status as parent or non-parent, age of offspring, and length of offspring's marriage.

The data indicate that: (1) adjustment to parent increases with dependence upon parent; (2) females are more likely to be dependent upon their mothers than are males; (3) husband's adjustment to in-laws is independent of wife's adjustment to her parents; (4) husband's adjustment to mother-in-law is negatively related to his wife's dependence upon her mother; (5) husband's adjustment to father-in-law is positively related to his wife's dependence upon her father; (6) the impact of wife's dependency on husband's adjustment is specific to the parent on whom the wife is dependent; (7) females and males with children are better adjusted to their mothers than are those without children; (8) age of offspring and the number of years offspring have been married are unrelated to the adjustment of offspring to parents.

¹⁵ The highest, for females in relation to father-in-law, was $r = .10$, S. E. = .15.

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CONFLICTING GROUP MEMBERSHIP: A STUDY OF PARENT-PEER GROUP CROSS-PRESSURES

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MULTIPLE group membership, particularly in heterogeneous societies, often carries with it the possibility that the individual will belong to groups with mutually conflicting normative systems.¹ Since each group seeks to transmit and enforce its own particular norms and values, the individual whose membership groups conflict is likely to be caught between the cross-pressures of contradictory group expectations and role prescriptions.

This paper is a study of the influence of two membership groups on the attitude of a group of adolescents, many of whom find themselves in a cross-pressure situation. The membership groups with which we are here concerned are among the most important to which the adolescent belongs: the *family*, his first membership group and one which plays an important role in the socialization process; and the *peer* group, the group in which the adolescent in particular finds many of his gratifications. Both groups exert pressures upon the adolescent. Frequently these pressures are mutually sustaining, but in some areas they may be in conflict, demanding from the adolescent patterns of thought and behavior which are mutually incompatible. For many adolescents one of these areas is religion.² In this paper we shall examine the conflicting expectations that familial and peer groups have concerning one facet of the adolescent's religious orientation. Our task is to examine the relationship between the adolescent's religious attitude and that of his membership groups,

to determine what this relationship is when the groups are defined as reference groups, and to evaluate the relative influence of these groups upon the adolescent in cases where their expectations conflict.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Samples and Techniques. The data for this study were collected in a small upper New York State city. The subjects are fifty adolescents—the entire universe of Jewish high school age boys and girls in the city: a fact of some importance in that it considerably facilitated charting the pressures, attractions, and structure of the adolescent's peer-clique group.

Adolescents were first questioned in unstructured interviews in order to familiarize the investigator with the formal and informal groups. Strategic adult informants, particularly youth activities leaders, and a sample of parents were also interviewed. In addition the investigator observed the adolescents at school and at play as a non-participant observer for about a year. At the end of the year the subjects were re-interviewed. This time a structured interview schedule was used.

Index of Group Membership. Before the relative influence of the conflicting groups could be examined, it was necessary to locate the membership groups and to delineate an area in which there were conflicting norms and expectations. Information about the familial³ group was secured from the adolescent and from a sub-sample of parents. The latter were interviewed in order to check upon the teen-agers' reports. The peer group with which we are here concerned is not the

¹For a systematic analysis of the possibility of multiple group membership in modern societies and its consequences for the individual see T. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, New York: Dryden, 1950, Ch. 15; and M. Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology*, New York: Harper, 1948, Ch. 5.

²It is often in adolescence that the individual first questions the religious beliefs and practices accepted unquestioningly by him in his childhood and often taught to him by his parents. See A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: Wiley, 1949, Ch. 10.

³The religious norm of the familial group is here defined as expectations of the parents, since in most families in our culture the norm is set by the parents. The terms parental group and familial group will be used here interchangeably, although it is recognized that the adolescent's membership group is the familial group (i.e. parents and siblings) and not the parental dyad.

general category of the adolescent's age-mates, but only those who form his own particular sub-group or clique. In unstructured interviews adolescents were asked to describe the groupings or cliques among the Jewish adolescents of the community. A list of the names of every Jewish adolescent in town was handed to the respondent, and he was asked to tell us with whom these adolescents most frequently associated. These data were buttressed by information gained through nonparticipant observation over a period of a year. At the end of the year each respondent was asked to list the persons among his age-mates, both Jewish and non-Jewish, with whom he most often associated. Through combining these three sources of information we were able to locate each adolescent in a particular peer group.

The issue about which there are conflicting expectations and pressures from certain familial and peer groups is one which adolescents often report as a source of conflict between themselves and their parents. It concerns a ritual practice of traditional Judaism—the use of kosher meat.⁴ As a way of establishing the position of the adolescent and that of his membership groups, the respondents were asked: "When you get married are you going to use kosher meat in your home?"; and "Is kosher meat now used in your home?" Adolescents who plan to use kosher meat, and parents who use kosher meat will be called, for purposes of this study, "observant." In cases where more than half of the members of the adolescent's peer clique-group are observant, the group will be labeled observant.⁵ In terms of the attitude and presumably the expectations of their membership groups, it can be seen that adolescents fall into one of four categories: those whose parent and peer groups are both observant; those whose parent and peer groups are both non-observant; those whose parents are observant and peer group is non-observant; those whose parents are non-observant and peer group is observant.

⁴ Traditional Judaism forbids the use of any but ritually clean (i.e. *kosher*) food. Only certain animals, slaughtered in a prescribed manner, may be eaten.

⁵ Non-Jewish members of the clique-group are considered non-observant. This is to indicate that they are not likely to exert pressures on the Jewish adolescent to be observant, although this is a possibility.

Adolescents who fall into the latter two categories are those who are likely to experience conflicting expectations and pressures.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Parent - Peer Groups as Membership Groups. Our first task is to examine the relationship between the attitude of the adolescent toward the use of kosher meat and the attitude of his membership groups. Unless a relationship can be shown to exist, it would be meaningless to speak of a cross-pressure situation. If the data indicate that neither group is sufficiently important on this issue to influence the adolescent to the extent of having attitudes congruent with his, it is not probable that their conflicting expectations would be perceived or experienced as a cross-pressure situation.

The data in Table 1 show that a significant relationship exists between the attitude of the adolescent and the attitude of his membership groups. Children of observant parents are proportionately more likely to be observant than are children of non-observant parents: 60 per cent of the former state they are going to observe the kosher meat ritual in their homes after marriage, as compared with 32 per cent of the latter—a difference that is statistically significant at the .05 level. The picture is the same when we compare the attitude of adolescents and the attitude of their peer groups: 80 per cent of the respondents whose peer-clique group is observant are also observant, as compared with 23 per cent of those whose peer group is non-observant—a relationship that is significant at the .001 level. However, it may be asked whether the relationship between adolescent and peer group attitude is not in fact in the final analysis a function of parental influence, since parents sometimes determine their children's selection of friends. Parents may see to it that their children associate only with adolescents who share the parental point of view. This hypothesis is examined in Table 2, in which the parental attitude is controlled. It can be seen that if parents seek to limit their children's associates to those who share the parental attitude (we do not know that this is the case) they are successful in only a little over half the cases. Furthermore, the relationship between the

attitude of the adolescent and that of his peer group observed in Table 1 is not destroyed, although the statistical significance of this relationship is reduced to the .05 level.

There is, we note further in Table 1, a tendency for adolescents to agree more closely with their peer group than with their parents: 22 per cent of the adolescents differ from their peer group, as compared with 36 per cent who differed from their parents. Also it is apparent that membership in a particular group does not explain entirely

presumably both in terms of the examples they set and their expectations is very effective: in all only 14 per cent of the respondents deviate from the norms of their membership groups when the groups are homogeneous in attitude.

Parent-Peer Groups as Reference Groups. Another, and we believe more reliable method of guarding against error, is to substitute the factor reference group for that of membership group. Not all membership groups are necessarily significant to the individual, and those which are significant for

TABLE 1. PARENTS AND PEER GROUP ATTITUDE BY ADOLESCENT'S ATTITUDE

Adolescent Attitude	Parent Attitude		Peer Group Attitude	
	Observant	Non-Observant	Observant	Non-Observant
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Observant	60	32	80	23
Non-observant	40	68	20	77
Total per cent	100	100	100	100
Total number	25	25	20	30
Chi-square: 3.9. P less than .05.			Chi-square: 15.5. P less than .001.	

the possession of an attitude on the part of many adolescents. In the case of this study the use of one membership group as a predictive factor would involve considerable error: in terms of the familial group this error is as high as 36 per cent.

One way of guarding against this kind of error is to relate the attitude of the adolescent to the attitude of more than one membership group. When the membership groups are found to be homogeneous in attitude on a particular issue, the probability is increased that the adolescent will possess that attitude also. Thus the relationship between the adolescent's attitude and that of his membership groups is very marked in cases where the religious orientation of the two groups is similar. The data in Table 3 show that when parent and peer group are both observant, 83 per cent of the adolescents are observant. When the membership groups are non-observant, 88 per cent of the adolescents are non-observant. In both cases the relationships between the adolescent's attitudes and those of his membership groups are statistically significant at the .001 level. The combined influence of the two groups,

him on one issue may not be so on another. Recently, the group which consists of significant others, persons of importance to the individual and to whom he psychologically relates himself, has been termed the reference group. A major proposition of reference group theory is that the individual's attitudes stem from and are related to those of his significant others, and that this congruence of attitudes is a function of the process of interiorization and legitimation of referent's expectations.⁶

In determining the adolescent's reference

⁶ The term "reference group" seems first to have appeared in a monograph by H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology*, 1942, No. 269. Hyman used the term to signify some person or social category with whom the individual compares himself in evaluating his status. M. Sherif, *op. cit.*, and T. Newcomb, *op. cit.*, stress the attitude formation functions of the reference group. R. K. Merton and A. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the American Soldier*, in R. K. Merton and P. F. Lazarsfeld, editors, Glencoe: Free Press, 1950, pp. 40-105, employ the concept as a frame of reference for both self-evaluation and attitude formation.

TABLE 2. PEER GROUP ATTITUDE BY ADOLESCENT'S ATTITUDE WHEN PARENTAL ATTITUDE IS CONTROLLED

Adolescent Attitude	Observant Parents		Non-Observant Parents	
	Observant	Non-Observant	Observant	Non-Observant
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Observant	83	38	75	12
Non-observant	17	62	25	88
Total per cent	100	100	100	100
Total number *	12	13	8	17

Combinatorial chi-square: 8.9

P less than .05

* Yates correction factor used in computation.

group the following criteria were used: (1) perceived importance to individual, (2) perceived model for self-evaluation, and (3) perceived bond of understanding. Respondents were asked these questions:

1. Who are the people whose good opinion of you is important to you?
2. How religious would you say you are? Are you comparing yourself with someone? If so, with whom are you comparing yourself?
3. Who do you think understands you better, your parents or your friends?

In answer to the first two questions adolescents were permitted to name as many persons as they felt necessary. These criteria permit the rough classification of adolescents into three categories: (1) those who named their parents more often than their peer group; (2) those who named their peers more often than their parents; (3) those who named their parents and peers with

equal frequency. The group named most frequently is considered the reference group.⁷ We recognize that adolescents may have other referents (e.g., teachers, or siblings) but for the purpose of this study we shall limit ourselves to only parental and peer groups as reference groups.

When the reference group rather than the membership group⁸ is used as the explanatory variable, the data indicate, as in Table 4, that error (i.e. those adolescents who deviate from the norm of their designated group) is considerably reduced, particularly as compared to situations in which only one membership group is employed as the explanatory factor. No more than 14 per cent of the entire sample deviate from their reference group. The relationship between the attitude of the adolescent and the attitude of their reference group is clearly statistically significant. In this case also it can be seen that adolescents tend to conform more closely to the norm of their peers than the norm of their parents:

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADOLESCENTS' AND MEMBERSHIP GROUPS' ATTITUDE WHEN MEMBERSHIP GROUPS' ATTITUDE IS HOMOGENEOUS

Adolescent Attitude	Parent and Peer Group Are Observant	Parent and Peer Group Are Non-observant
	Per cent	Per cent
Observant	83	12
Non-observant	17	88
Total per cent	100	100
Total number *	12	17

Chi-square: 12.1.

P less than .001.

* Yates correction factor used in computation.

⁷ A somewhat different method was employed in research reported elsewhere by the writer: Bernard C. Rosen, "The Reference Group Approach to the Parental Factor in Attitude and Behavior Formation," paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, April 3, 1954. The index employed here is not a scale and admits of neither ordinal nor cardinal properties, but is a rough categorization. However, we feel that the criteria and questions with some modifications are capable of being scaled.

⁸ An individual's reference group may or may not be one of his membership groups. That is, it may be a group to which he objectively belongs, believes himself to belong, or aspires to belong. In this study the reference group is also an objective membership group.

TABLE 4. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ATTITUDE OF ADOLESCENT AND ATTITUDE OF REFERENCE GROUP

Adolescent's Reference Group	Adolescent's Attitude Is	
	Like His Reference Group	Unlike His Reference Group
	(Cases)	(Cases)
Parents	21	5
Parents and peers	5	1
Peers	15	1
Total number *	41	7

*Two cases designating parent and peer as reference group and corresponding to only one or the other not included.

7 per cent deviate from their peers as compared with 19 per cent who differ from their parents.

Conflicting Membership Groups. The fact that relatively few adolescents deviate from the norm of their parent-peer groups considered as reference groups, but that a sizeable number differ from these groups when defined as membership groups except in those cases where the attitude of the two groups is similar, suggests that the deviate cases may be understood in terms of the membership groups possessing different attitudes and of the adolescent interiorizing the expectations of one group rather than those of the other. When this situation obtains, the individual is likely to be placed in a cross-pressure situation in which he experiences conflicting expectations from his membership groups.

Several kinds of evidence indicate that a number of adolescents find themselves in a cross-pressure situation. Analysis of their membership groups show that 42 per cent of the adolescents belong to familial and peer groups whose attitude toward the use of kosher meat is mutually conflicting. Furthermore, these conflicting attitudes show up in the *perceived pressures* which adolescents explicitly verbalized in interviews. Usually, pressures from parents are described as contributing to the observance of rituals: many adolescents attribute their acceptance of a particular ritual to parental influence. Explanations of this acceptance were typically in terms of habitative experience in which the observance of a ritual was traced to a habit formed in the home,

or in terms of constraintive experience in which case observance is more a function of parental pressure than of personal preference. The peer group on the other hand is often held responsible, both by adolescents and parents, for the adolescent's deviation from traditional norms. Respondents often ascribe their first transgression of the traditional code to the influence of their peers. This is not to say that there are not instances in which parental pressures are away from traditionalism and peer group pressures toward traditionalism, situations of this sort occur, but they are not as frequent objectively and even less frequently perceived and reported by the adolescent.

As is the case for most groups, the family and the peer groups expect conformity to their norms. Some latitude is permitted in the interpretation of these norms, but typically any radical deviation from the group pattern will be punished. In the case of the familial group the sanctions are usually verbal scoldings; in the case of the peer group deviation from the group norm may result in expulsion from the group. In one case which the writer observed a teen-age girl was isolated from her peers because of her unusually close adherence to the traditional norms of her parents, an adherence which prevented her from writing, riding, or attending sports events on the Sabbath. She is described by other adolescents as "fanatic" and "stiff necked" and is virtually without friends among her age-mates. This is an extreme situation; usually severe sanctions are rare. Ordinarily the group achieves conformity to its norms by effectively creating a climate of opinion which gently coerces the adolescent into acceptance of the group's norms.

The data in Table 5 lend tentative support to the hypotheses that when adolescents deviate from the norm of one group they are conforming to the norm of the other group. Thus of those adolescents who differ from their parents, 78 per cent of these agree with their peer group. Conversely, of those respondents who differ from their peer group, 63 per cent agree with their parents. Here again we note that the norm of the peer group tends to have a greater appeal than that of the parents. That is, when the adolescent differs from his parents he is pro-

TABLE 5. CORRESPONDENCE OF ADOLESCENT'S ATTITUDE WITH PARENTAL ATTITUDE BY CORRESPONDENCE OF ADOLESCENT'S ATTITUDE WITH PEER GROUP ATTITUDE

Adolescents' and Peers' Attitude Are	Adolescent's Attitude and Parents' Attitude Are	
	Like	Unlike
	(Cases)	(Cases)
Like	25	14
Unlike	7	4
Total number	32	18

portionately more likely to agree with his peer group (76 per cent of the time) than he is to agree with his parents when he differs from his peers (63 per cent). While this difference is not statistically significant it is in the direction of our other data. We cannot be certain from these data that adolescents who deviate from the norm of one group are doing so as the instigation of the other group. For example, adolescents who reject the norm of observant parents may do so because they feel their parents to be unnecessarily restrictive, rather than because they find the norm of the peer group more acceptable or because they are reacting to the direct promptings of their peers. However, it is probable that the group with which the adolescent agrees plays at least a supporting role, if not an active role, in alienating the adolescent from the norm of the other group. Few adolescents are in rebellion against both groups. Logically, the adolescent may agree with both groups, with one of the two, or with none. Yet in only 8 per cent of the cases does he take the last alternative, indicating perhaps a need for support of at least one of these two important groups.

We can now ask the question: when parents and peer group have conflicting attitudes, with which group does the adolescent tend to agree and is this group his reference group? The data in Table 6 show that in the cases in which parent-peer groups have conflicting attitudes, 74 per cent of the adolescents agree with their peers as compared with 26 per cent who agree with their parents. In each case the group with which he agrees is about four times as likely to be his reference group as is the group with

which he does not agree. The probability that a difference as large as this could have occurred by chance is about 5 times out of a hundred.

CONCLUSIONS

The data indicate that a significant relationship exists between attitude of adolescents in this sample toward the use of kosher meat and the attitude of their familial-peer groups considered as membership groups. This relationship is even more marked when the membership groups are homogeneous in attitude or when the group is a reference group. In cases where the attitudes of the two membership groups are conflicting, the group with which adolescents agree tends to be their reference group as defined by independent criteria. The data, on the whole, point to the greater influence of the peer group. More often than not in cases where parent-peer groups have conflicting attitudes on the issue examined in this study adolescents agreed with their peers rather than their parents. The smallness of the sample, the ethnicity of the adolescents and the nature of the issue on which there is conflict make it imperative that any generalizations or conclusions drawn from these data be considered as highly tentative. Nonetheless, on the whole the data consistently and cumulatively indicate that for this issue and these adoles-

TABLE 6. CORRESPONDENCE OF ADOLESCENT'S ATTITUDE WITH MEMBERSHIP GROUPS' ATTITUDES IN CASES WHERE GROUPS DIFFER BY ADOLESCENT'S REFERENCE GROUP

Adolescents' Reference Group	Adolescent's Attitude Is	
	Unlike Parents and Like Peer Group	Unlike Peer Group and Like Parents
	Per cent	Per cent
Parents	21	80
Peers	79	20*
Total per cent	100	100
Total number **	14	5

Chi-square: 3.6.

P less than .06 but more than .05.

* Yates correction factor used in computation.

** Two cases designating parent and peer group as reference group and corresponding to one or the other not included.

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cents the norm of the peer group tends to be more closely related to the attitude of the adolescent than is the norm of the parental group. Whether this relationship is a causal one and to what extent it reflects not only the pressures of the peer group but also other referents, as well as the general value system of American culture, we cannot, of course, be certain. But the data do suggest that the importance of the peer group, even in situations where parents and peer group conflict, must be taken into account in any study of adolescent attitudes.

While the necessary data to explain these findings are lacking, some tentative explanations which may lead to further research can be offered. The relationship between adolescent and parental-peer group attitudes found in this study is in keeping with a growing body of theory and empirical data which demonstrate the importance of these two groups, particularly in terms of their functions in the socialization process, in the attitude formation process. An explanation of the relative impact of these two groups on adolescents in our society may be found in the hypotheses about American character presented by Riesman.⁹ His suggestion that the changing character structure of Americans is in the direction of the increasing im-

portance of the peer group offers a potentially rewarding guide for future research. Should further research indicate that the relative number of inner-directed persons (those who internalize parental authority) is declining in our society and that the proportion of other-directed persons (those whose character is formed chiefly by the example of their peers) is growing, it would help to provide a conceptual framework in which the data in this study could be interpreted.

Whatever future research may reveal about the importance of the peer group in childhood and adulthood, it is likely to be found that at no other time is the peer group as important to the individual as it is in adolescence. In our culture the physiological changes, the lag between physical maturation and social maturity associated with adolescence create a host of problems for the adolescent. In his effort to cope with these problems the adolescent turns to his age-mates for companionship, recognition, and support. The peer group provides the teen-ager with a sense of belongingness at a time when conflicting loyalties, identifications, and values make him unsure of himself. Within the peer group the adolescent is able to acquire the status often denied him in the adult world—a status which is more predictable and based upon values and expectations he understands and can fulfill.

⁹ D. Riesman, *et al.*, *The Lonely Crowd*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

EGO DEFICIENCY AS A FACTOR IN MARRIAGE

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BASED on findings of the pioneering prediction studies, it is often said that marriage is for the mature, non-neurotic person. In a typical example of counsel to the unmarried Duvall and Hill ask the question, "Are you mature enough for marriage? . . . how about your emotional age?"¹

They answer by suggesting that "an emotionally mature personality (is) the best dowry you can bring to marriage."² It is generally agreed that this is sound advice for the individual "preparing for marriage."

It is well to point out, however, that contemporary love and marriage theory seems to indicate, by implication at least, that it is the immature or not-so-well adjusted person for whom marriage has its greatest appeal. This line of reasoning seems to be

* With the assistance of David C. Johnson, undergraduate academic assistant.

¹ Evelyn M. Duvall and Reuben Hill. *When You Marry*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1945, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

implied in Winch's theory of complementary needs. "In mate-selection each individual seeks within his or her field of eligibles for that person who gives the greatest promise of providing him or her with maximum need gratification."³ Can it not be hypothesized that the person with the greatest need will be more inclined to marry than the person with less need? Or, the less competent one is (or feels) to met the demands made upon him from within and without, the more likely he is to marry, therefore marriage by its very nature is more attractive to the socially and emotionally inadequate or immature? It was out of a consideration of love based on need that Winch developed his theory of complementary needs.⁴ He quotes Ohmann when he states that "... we fall in love with those whom we need to complete ourselves . . . whom we need to satisfy our feelings of ego deficiency."⁵

The hypothesis of the present study may be stated as follows: *Other things being equal, persons who marry demonstrate greater feelings of ego deficiency than do persons who remain single.* The study data are drawn from the high school records of 604 girls who filled out forms of one or several self-report personality inventories while in high school and subsequently married or did not marry within a given period of time.⁶ The girls were members of graduating classes of the years 1945 through 1949. By 1950, when marital status was checked, 131 of the girls were married and 473 were single.

In line with the hypothesis, "Other things being equal," the two groups of girls, single and married, were individually paired on a number of characteristics in order that ego deficiency might be measured under some conditions of control. Some aspects of personality and social and cultural environment which might influence marriage were con-

trolled by matching on age (date of birth), position in the family (first-born—not first-born), nationality, father's occupation, high school attended, year of high school graduation, number of years since graduation, and intelligence. Lack of information for some individuals, as well as paired matching, reduced the end sample to 118 cases or 59 matched pairs of single and married girls.⁷

The differences between the mean scores of the single and married girls on the two measures of adjustment are not large, but, as noted in Table 1, all differences "favor" the single girls. This is true of the total scores on the personality inventories as well as on the four sections of The Adjustment Inventory and the two divisions and twelve sub-tests of the California Test of Personality. The differences in "total" adjustment between the two groups of girls are statistically significant. The mean score difference of 5.27 on The Adjustment Inventory is significant at the two per cent level and the difference of 7.17 on the California Test of Personality is significant at the five per cent level of confidence.⁸

There are also significant differences on three of the four sections of The Adjustment Inventory. The single girls reported better health adjustment, were more aggressive socially and were better adjusted emotionally. The difference in home adjustment was not significant. However, the mean score difference on a similar subtest of the California Test was significant at the five per cent level. Beside the "family relations" subtest, five other California subtests showed differences significant at the five per cent level or better. The single girls were more self reliant, had a greater sense of personal freedom, showed less tendency to withdraw, were more appreciative of accepted social standards and were less likely to have anti-social tendencies.

³ Robert F. Winch, *The Modern Family*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952, p. 406.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-338.

⁵ From O. Ohmann, "The Psychology of Attraction," Chapter 2 in H. M. Jordan (ed.), *You and Marriage*, New York: Wiley, 1942, p. 15, as quoted by Winch, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁶ The Adjustment Inventory (Bell) had been filled out by all the girls and the California Test of Personality—Secondary Series by the girls in the largest of five high schools represented.

⁷ Twenty-eight matched pairs on the California Test of Personality.

⁸ The probability frame of reference is used in evaluating the findings of the study. The author is aware of the limitations in using the probability frame of reference with nonrandom samples. "The P-tests serve in this context merely as a convenient device to order the data to a rational frame of reference." F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Design in Sociological Research*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 181.

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TABLE 1. PERSONALITY AND ADJUSTMENT DIFFERENCES OF SINGLE AND MARRIED GIRLS

	N	Mean Scores		Mean Score Diff.	S. E. of Diff.	t	Level of Confidence
		Single	Married				
The Adjustment Inventory	59	41.10	46.37	5.27	2.10	2.51	.027P7.01
Home adjustment		7.17	8.14	.97	.64	1.52	.207P7.10
Health adjustment		6.52	7.66	1.14	.53	2.13	.057P7.02
Social adjustment		14.24	16.90	2.66	.83	3.20	.017P7.001
Emotional adjustment		13.44	15.95	2.51	.90	2.77	.017P7.001
California Test of Personality	28	141.96	134.79	7.17	2.92	2.46	.057P7.02
Self adjustment		67.54	64.07	3.47	1.82	1.91	.107P7.05
Self-reliance		10.11	9.00	1.11	.41	2.71	.027P7.01
Sense of personal freedom		12.96	12.04	.93	.39	2.38	.057P7.02
Feeling of belonging		12.25	11.86	.39	.45	.87	.407P7.30
Sense of personal worth		11.61	11.53	.08	.42	.18	.907P7.80
Free. from withdrawing tend.		10.43	9.25	1.18	.57	2.07	.057P7.02
Free. from nervous symptoms		10.68	10.39	.49	.63	.78	.507P7.40
Social adjustment		71.50	70.71	.79	1.22	.65	.607P7.50
Social standards		14.21	13.75	.46	.20	2.30	.057P7.02
Social skills		11.93	11.75	.18	.51	.35	.807P7.70
Free. from anti-social tend.		13.25	11.93	1.32	.31	4.26	.0017P
Family relations		12.36	11.25	1.11	.48	2.31	.057P7.02
School relations		11.75	11.29	.46	.34	1.35	.207P7.10
Community relations		11.29	10.75	.54	.37	1.46	.207P7.10
Kuder Masculinity-Femininity	58	30.35	26.14	4.21	3.95	1.07	.307P7.20
High school grades	59	86.03	84.76	1.27	.58	2.21	.057P7.02
High school extra-curr. part.	53	4.70	4.15	.55	.53	1.03	.407P7.30

Beside the two adjustment inventories, several other sources of information were used as evidence of personality type or adjustment. Masculinity-femininity scores were worked out from Kuder Preference Record data for the two groups of girls.⁹ High scores represent masculine preferences and low scores represent feminine preferences. The single girls had higher scores than did the married girls, indicating a somewhat greater tendency toward so-called masculine interests on their part, or a somewhat greater tendency toward feminine interests on the part of the married girls. The difference in scores is not significant, however.

Though the girls were matched on intelligence, there was a difference, and a significant one, between high school grades earned by the two groups of girls. The single girls had a mean high school average of 86.03 and the married girls an average of 84.76. The difference of 1.27 is significant at the five per cent level. This would seem to indicate a more satisfactory academic adjustment on the part of the single girls. Despite their better grades, the single girls

also took a more active part in extra-curricular activities while in high school. The married girls took part in an average of 4.15 activities and the single girls took part in an average of 4.70 activities. This is in line with greater social aggressiveness as indicated by scores on The Adjustment Inventory. The difference in participation in extra-curricular activities is not statistically significant.

SUMMARY

The findings of the study tend to support the hypothesis that, other things being equal (sex, age, intelligence, position in the family, nationality, father's occupation, community and amount of education), persons who marry demonstrate greater feelings of ego deficiency than do persons who remain single.

All mean score differences favor the single girls. The single girls show better "internal" adjustment in terms of better health adjustment, better emotional adjustment, greater self reliance, a greater sense of personal freedom and fewer withdrawing tendencies. They also made a more satisfactory "external" adjustment as noted in the more com-

⁹ G. Frederic Kuder, *Revised Manual for the Kuder Preference Record*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1946, pp. 21-23.

plete adjustment to family, greater social aggressiveness and participation, better use of talent as indicated in high school grades, more complete acceptance of social standards and fewer anti-social tendencies. As indicated in the total scores on the two adjust-

ment inventories, the overall adjustment of the single girls was also decidedly better than that of the married girls.

It may be that it is the immature or not-so-well adjusted person for whom marriage has its strongest appeal.

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SOME DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RECENTLY MARRIED PERSONS: COMPARISONS OF REGISTRATION DATA AND SAMPLE SURVEY DATA

HUGH CARTER, PAUL C. GLICK, AND SARAH LEWIT *

THERE is widespread interest in obtaining more comprehensive statistics of marriage and divorce in the United States. While there has been a steady improvement in the data obtained from registration records through the State registrars of vital statistics, the National Office of Vital Statistics (NOVS) of the Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is interested in testing the representativeness of these data and in exploring the possibility of obtaining other valuable data by sampling through the use of the Current Population Survey (CPS) of the Bureau of the Census. The present report compares some of the demographic characteristics of recently married persons as provided by NOVS and those obtained through the sample survey (CPS).

The NOVS collection system for marriage and divorce statistics is based primarily upon tabulations prepared in the vital statistics offices¹ of 36 States with central files of marriage records and 30 States with central files of divorce records. In the remaining States records of marriages and divorces are retained by the local officials, usually county officials, who have responsibility for preparing the records.² Not all of the States with

central files, however, can supply the detailed statistics of persons marrying or becoming divorced that provide a basis for interpreting the gross totals. A total of 27 States supplied some of the detailed tables, but only 10 States appear in all of the NOVS tables used. It must be emphasized also that States are not selected because they constitute a representative sample; they are, in fact, all of the States that supply tabulations.

Source of Census data on Recent Marriages. The CPS data were obtained in connection with the sample survey which provides monthly estimates of employment and unemployment, annual estimates of family characteristics, migration, income, and school enrollment, and various other estimates. At the time of the April 1953 survey, the sample consisted of about 25,000 households located in 68 scientifically selected areas in 42 States and the District of Columbia.

The schedules used in this survey, as in the April surveys of earlier years, contained such items as age, sex, race, relationship to head of household, marital status, migration, employment status, occupation, industry, and income. In addition, four special items on marital status were included. The first item established the year in which ever-married persons had entered their present marriage. The second item determined for those who married between January 1950 and the date of the survey in April 1953 whether this was the person's first marriage or a remarriage. For those who had remarried during this period, the third item asked for marital status preceding the remarriage and the fourth item asked for duration of widowhood or divorce before the remarriage.

offices of vital statistics which maintain central files, and on reports on marriage licenses from local officials in the remaining States, except that in a few instances State officials in States which do not have central files conduct special surveys of their local areas and provide NOVS with the figures. The total number of divorces in the United States is an estimate based on returns from a varying number of States each year.

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This is a revision of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, May, 1954.

Tabular material on which the figures and text are based is available upon request from the National Office of Vital Statistics, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C.

¹ Hugh Carter, "Improving National Marriage and Divorce Statistics," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 48 (September, 1953), pp. 453-461.

² The total number of marriages in the United States is based on reports on marriages from State

From the available information, it was possible to derive estimates of age at first marriage and remarriage for recently married persons and to obtain several social and economic characteristics of these persons which are not available on marriage records. In addition, the CPS provided sample data on a nationwide basis on several marriage items which are available through NOVS on a complete count basis but only for selected States.

Comparison of Total Marriages from NOVS and CPS. For many areas in a given year, information is not obtained on the number of marriages performed. For such areas, estimating procedures have been developed by NOVS, including the use of the number of marriage licenses issued as a substitute for a count of marriages performed. Quite recently NOVS published a study of the difference between marriage licenses and marriages performed for areas with both series available.³ On the basis of this study, correction formulas were applied to the NOVS provisional figures on marriage licenses for 1952 and for January to April 1953. The estimates of marriages obtained were 1,523,000 for 1952 and 350,000 for the period January to April 1953. The estimated total for the two periods combined was 1,873,000 marriages compared with 1,923,000 marriage licenses, or a reduction of 2.7 per cent.

The number of marriages, according to NOVS figures, and the number of persons whose last marriage occurred during the period January 1950–April 1953, according to the results of the CPS, differ considerably, with the CPS total for males being 21 per cent lower, and that for females 14 per cent lower, than the NOVS figures on marriages. Virtually the entire difference between the apparent shortages for men and women in the CPS, however, reflects the fact that the CPS sample was not designed to cover members of the Armed Forces living in barracks in the United States or stationed overseas. It is estimated that about 360,000 men in the Armed Forces who married during the period were not covered by the CPS.⁴

³ See *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, Volume 3, Number 1.

⁴ This figure is somewhat below the estimated

Other shortages due to lack of coverage in the CPS were quite minor. These include shortages arising because: (1) the person had two or more marriages in the period encompassed by the study, whereas only the last one was recorded in the CPS; (2) the person married during the period but had his marriage annulled and was therefore recorded in the survey as not having been married; and (3) the person married during the period but died before the survey date.

Another source of apparent shortage in the CPS is the fact that about 185,000 recently married men, and a similar number of recently married women, or 5 per cent of the married persons, failed to report year of marriage in the CPS.⁵ This nonreport rate can be compared with 4 per cent on income, 1 per cent on education, and about one-half of one per cent on migration.

The residual shortage in the CPS estimates of recently married persons, after accounting for problems of coverage and nonreports on year of marriage, is approximately 9 per cent. It is possible, on the one hand, that sampling variability accounts for part of this residual shortage or, on the other hand, that the shortage would have been even greater but for sampling variability. The chances are 19 out of 20 that a complete census would have yielded the number of recently married men or women within four and a half per cent of the number shown in the survey.

For each of the foregoing factors, a value has been derived to indicate the approximate level of its contribution in explaining the difference between the NOVS and CPS figures. For several other factors, to which we shall turn now, no such values could be readily derived.

In preparing the NOVS estimates of the number of marriages, for instance, difficulties

number of married men in the Armed Forces under 25 years old not covered by the CPS and somewhat above the estimated number of married women under 25 years old with husband absent in the Armed Forces in April 1953.

⁵ This estimate is based on the assumption that persons with nonreports on year of marriage were distributed by year of marriage in the same proportions as those with reports on year of marriage. This assumption seems plausible since the nonreports were not concentrated in any part of the age range.

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arise because there are some local areas from which no marriage license reports are received. Lacking any data for a given county for a given month, the figure is estimated. Under certain circumstances the estimating procedure may give an inflated total. Duplicate marriage ceremonies is another possible source of error. Some couples are married twice—first in a civil ceremony and again in a religious ceremony. Second marriage licenses are sometimes issued for the same marriage. To what extent this results in inflating the marriage total is unknown. Again, in some States, residents who marry elsewhere must register their marriages when they return. The extent to which this type of duplicate registration is included in NOVS figures is likewise unknown.

In the CPS, there may be a net shortage in the number of recently married persons because the number of such persons who have moved out of the United States as civilians may exceed the number who have moved into the country. For example, the number of wives of members of the Armed Forces living outside the Continental United States probably increased between 1950 and 1953.

In addition, if a relatively large proportion of the dwelling units missed in the CPS were occupied by newly married couples, this factor would serve to explain some of the difference between the survey and registration figures.

Some persons, through misunderstanding or by design, may have been reported in terms of the year of their first marriage instead of their most recent marriage; the first marriage, in such a case, probably would have occurred before 1950 and hence would not have been counted in the CPS among the marriages that occurred after 1950.

Finally, it is possible that a considerable part of the difference between the NOVS and CPS figures, aside from coverage limitations and nonreports on year of marriage, arises from exaggerations of duration of marriage to prevent the suspicion arising that any of the children in the family were conceived before the parents were married. For persons misreported in this manner, the effect would be to add one or two years to the duration of the marriage.

In the light of the differences between the

marriage figures obtained through these two sources the NOVS will continue to make a careful study of all possible factors affecting the registration figures. At the same time, steps are being taken to improve the completeness of reporting on items relating to marriage in the CPS. Meantime, the user of the CPS figures should exercise caution in interpreting the findings on recently married persons. The patterns in which the data are distributed, however, appear to be quite reasonable and should be more reliable, in general, than the absolute levels of the figures.

SUMMARY COMPARISONS OF CPS AND NOVS DATA

It is of interest to compare the social characteristics of recently married persons as these appear in the sample survey (CPS) and in the available registration records (NOVS). Since only a limited number of the States provide detailed tabulations from registration records, it is evident that data for these States may differ significantly from the data for nonreporting States. The sample survey provides a rough check on the representativeness of available registration data. The use of the CPS as a criterion against which to measure the NOVS data, however, is limited by its own incomplete coverage and sampling variability. A few summary questions may be raised about the two groups of data before making more detailed comparisons.

What proportion of all marriages are first marriages? For the years covered, about three-fourths to four-fifths of the persons marrying were doing so for the first time. The proportion of first marriages is somewhat higher for the white population than for the nonwhite population, according to both sources.

Considering the group that has remarried, NOVS data for 12 to 14 States for the three years 1950–52 indicate that about one-fourth of the remarriages were of persons formerly widowed; about three-fourths were formerly divorced. The CPS results are about the same. One notes also for these persons who remarried that the proportion of persons formerly widowed is slightly higher for women than for men. This is observed both for CPS and NOVS data.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

Recently there has been a great deal of discussion concerning the relatively young age at marriage in the United States. A considerable body of material from both CPS and NOVS on this subject is now available for analysis. Median ages at first marriage from the two sources show a reasonably close correspondence, but those for remarriage differ somewhat more. This is not surprising since the small number of CPS cases of remarriage makes the sampling variability substantial. In general, the median age at first marriage for women is 2 or 3 years younger than for men. The median age at remarriage for women is 5 or 6 years younger than for men. At first marriage, brides are about 20 years of age and grooms 23, on the average, based on NOVS data, and slightly older according to CPS data. At remarriage, brides are 35 years of age and grooms 40 years of age, on the average, according to NOVS figures, whereas the corresponding CPS figures, are again somewhat higher. There is also agreement that median ages for the non-

white men are slightly higher than for the white men.

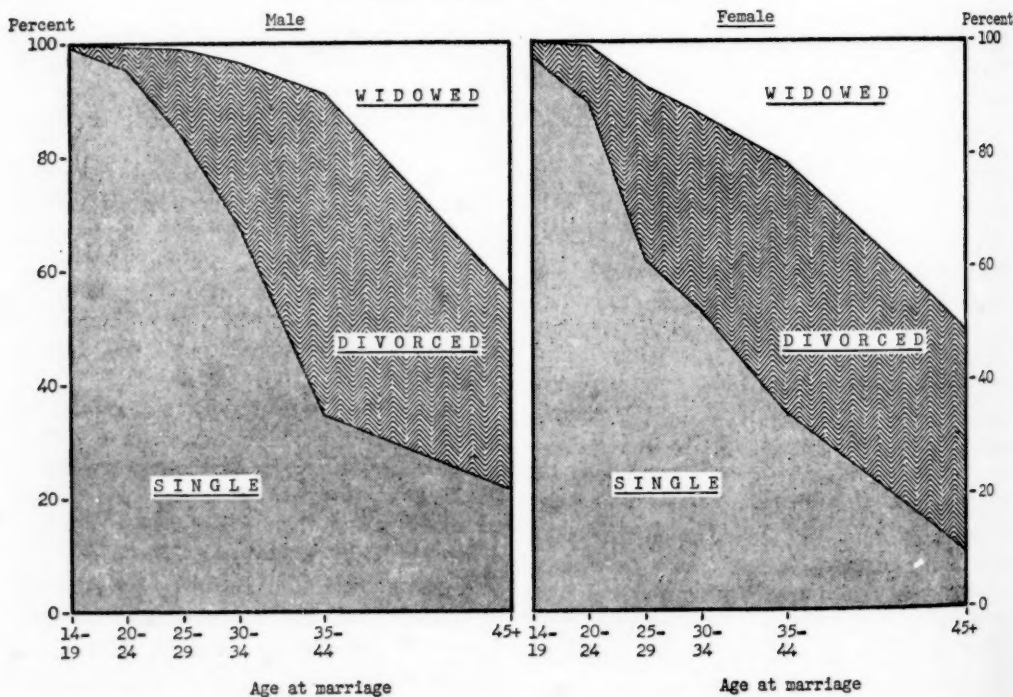
Persons formerly divorced remarry some 15 to 20 years younger than persons formerly widowed. For women the median ages at remarriage are 31 years for the divorced and 47 years for the widowed. Corresponding medians for men are 36 and 57 years. The difference between median ages for widows and widowers at remarriage is twice as great as for previously divorced brides and grooms.

The majority of marriages where the person is under 35 years old are first marriages (Figure 1). Between 35 and 50 or 55 years of age, there are more marriages of divorced persons than of single or widowed persons (considered separately) and above age 55 the majority of marriages are of widowed persons. Marriages of divorced persons constitute a much more uniform proportion of all marriages from age to age than do marriages of single or widowed persons.

Further light is thrown on the pattern of age at marriage by examining the cumulative frequency distributions (Figure 2). The

Figure 1

DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES, BY PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS, AGE, AND SEX, UNITED STATES, 1950-53 (CPS)

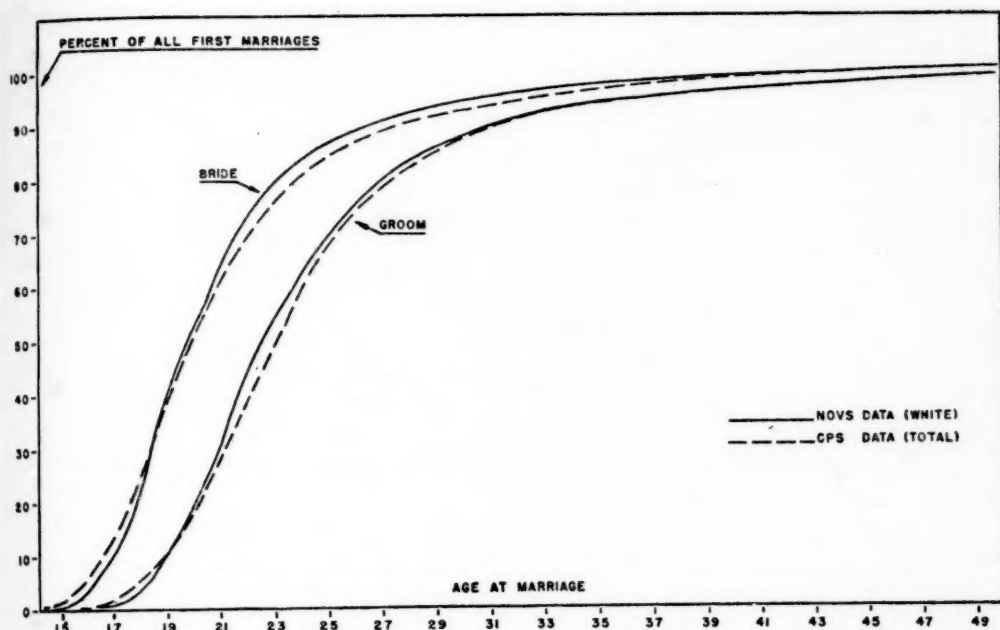


curves group are obs a small of age of groo marria from r the Ne years o twentie nificant riages followi stantia groom served ages ar Age marital

⁶ Data persons ages rep T. Chr Freiser, riage and

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Figure 2. DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST MARRIAGES BY AGE AND SEX: 16 REPORTING STATES, 1952 (NOVS) AND UNITED STATES, 1950-53 (CPS)



curves of first marriages, for the sample group (CPS) and for white persons (NOVS) are observed to cross. The NOVS data show a smaller proportion of brides under 18 years of age at marriage and a smaller proportion of grooms under 19.⁶ Comparing the first marriages of Negroes and of white persons from registration data, a larger per cent of the Negro brides were found to be below 19 years of age and a smaller per cent in the twenties. For the grooms, there was no significant difference in the proportion of marriages occurring under twenty, but in the following 10 years of life there was a substantially smaller proportion of Negro grooms. A somewhat similar pattern is observed in age at remarriage, except that the ages are somewhat more advanced.

Age at remarriage is related to previous marital status; the divorced marry early,

the widowed late. The cumulative curves of NOVS data for 1952 reflect the great differences in the ages of these groups (Figure 3). Forty per cent of the formerly divorced women remarried prior to age 29, and 80 per cent prior to age 42; whereas for the formerly widowed women, 40 per cent remarried prior to 43 years of age and 80 per cent prior to age 60. The results are similar for grooms. Of those formerly divorced who remarried, 20 per cent have done so prior to age 27; whereas for the widowers who remarried, 20 per cent have done so prior to age 43.

AGE SPECIFIC MARRIAGE RATES

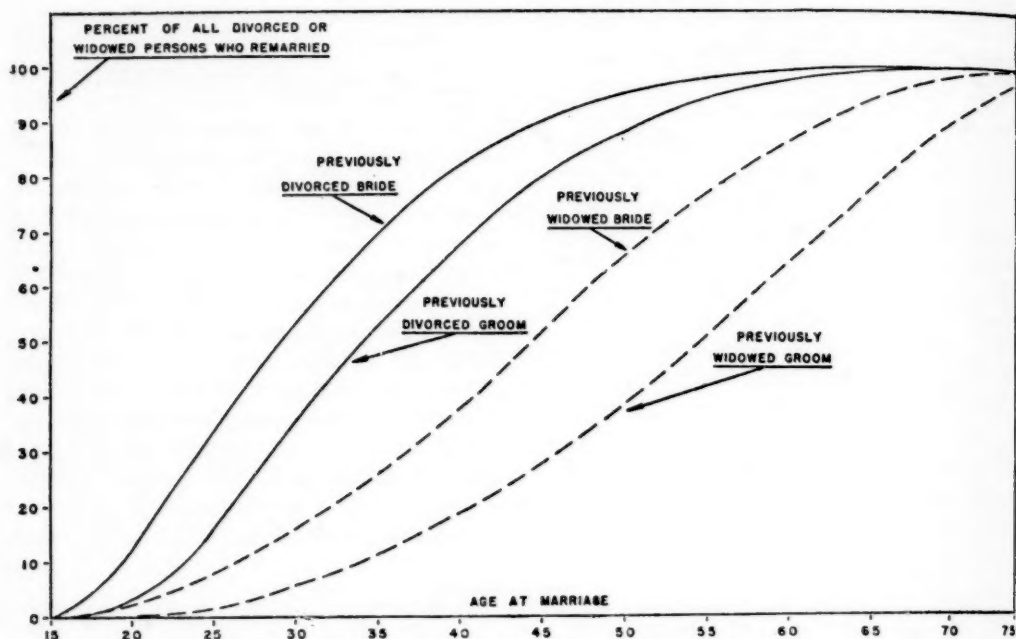
The NOVS has prepared age specific marriage rates, for first marriages and remarriages, for a group of 15 States for the year 1950.⁷ Since these marriage reports

⁶Data from other sources indicate that some persons below the legal age at marriage have legal ages reported on their marriage records. See Harold T. Christensen, Robert Andrews, and Sophie Freiser, "Falsification of Age at Marriage," *Marriage and Family Living*, XV (November, 1953).

⁷These rates appear in Volume I of "Vital Statistics of the United States," National Office of Vital Statistics, Public Health Service, Department of Health Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C., and may be obtained on request.

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Figure 3. DISTRIBUTION OF REMARRIAGES BY PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS, AGE, AND SEX: 12 REPORTING STATES, 1952 (NOVS)



are on an occurrence basis rather than a residence basis there is likely to be some distortion in the rates due to migratory marriages.

In Figure 4 are age-specific first marriage and remarriage rates based on NOVS and CPS data. The first marriage rates were cal-

culated with single persons of the specified age as the base; similarly, the remarriage rates were calculated with widowed and divorced persons as the base.⁸

⁸ Base populations used in calculating the rates were obtained from the CPS reports for March 1950 and April 1951, 1952, and 1953.

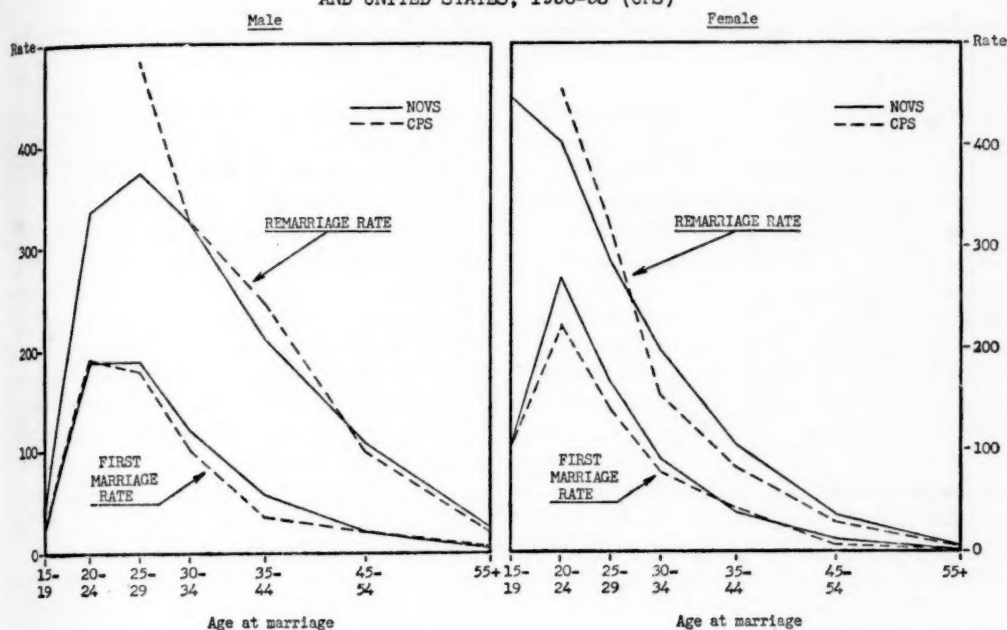
TABLE 1. MARRIAGE RATES BY PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS AND AGE AT MARRIAGE, BY SEX: UNITED STATES, 1950-53

Age at Marriage	Marriage Rates by Previous Marital Status					
	Single	Male Divorced	Widowed	Single	Female Divorced	Widowed
Total	73	228	30	94	163	13
14-17 years	6	...	..	47	...	...
18-19 years	65	...	..	192	...	...
20-24 years	190	...	..	220	515	...
25-29 years	177	518	..	139	359	223
30-34 years	101	368	..	78	171	117
35-44 years	36	322	97	43	126	50
45-54 years	20	110	85	7	62	19
55-64 years	10	74	37	2	41	6
65 years and over	4	24	8	1	13	2

(Rate per 1,000 population in each specified group, enumerated in CPS as of March, 1950, April, 1951 and 1952, and one-fourth of that for April, 1953. Rate not shown where base is less than 200,000).

Figure 4

FIRST MARRIAGE AND REMARRIAGE RATES, 15 REPORTING STATES, 1950 (NOVS)
AND UNITED STATES, 1950-53 (CPS)



Note: Rate not shown where base is less than 200,000.

The findings from both NOVS and CPS data presented in Figure 4 show that remarriage rates are generally much higher, age for age, than first marriage rates. Moreover, at most ages, the remarriage rates for men are much higher than those for women. Partly because of the wider gap, on the average, between the ages of marriage partners at remarriage than at first marriage and partly because of the higher remarriage rates during the middle and older ages for men, the ages at marriage for men tend to be more evenly distributed than those for women. Thus, about 50 per cent of the men who married during the period of the study were under 25 years old at the time of marriage, about 40 per cent were 25 to 44 years old, and about 10 per cent were 45 and over. For women, the corresponding figures were about 70 per cent, 25 per cent and 5 per cent.

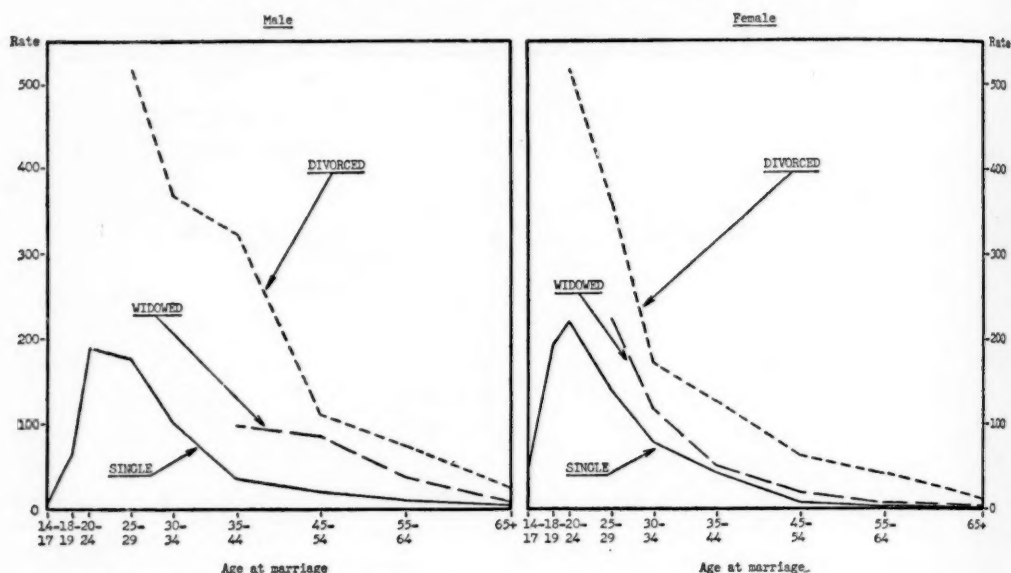
Figure 5 is based on data from the CPS, and the accompanying table and shows the relative levels of marriage rates for single, widowed, and divorced persons, by age at marriage. The results indicate that the marriage rates are consistently highest for di-

vorced persons, intermediate for widowed persons, and lowest for single persons.

As a final note of caution regarding the interpretation of the marriage rates by age at marriage and previous marital status, we acknowledge that sampling variability and errors of response regarding marital status may have affected the size of the marriage rates.⁹ The fact that the patterns of the rates, based on the CPS, are relatively smooth and consistent justifiably lends confidence to the user that they are not seriously

⁹ The range of sampling variability of marriage rates based on CPS is illustrated as follows: The first marriage rate for females 20 to 24 years old (220 per thousand) has a relatively small sampling variability, since the chances are about 19 out of 20 that a complete census would have yielded a rate between 200 and 240; thus, the sampling variability at the specified level amounts to only about 10 per cent of the rate in question. On the other hand, the remarriage rate for divorced females 20 to 24 years old (515 per thousand) has a relatively large sampling variability, since the chances are about 19 out of 20 that a complete census would have yielded a rate between 410 and 620; thus, the sampling variability at the specified level amounts to about 20 per cent of the rate in question.

Figure 5
MARRIAGE RATES BY PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS, UNITED STATES, 1950-53 (CPS)



affected by sampling variability. Errors of response are discussed elsewhere in this paper. To some extent, of course, these response variations may offset each other.¹⁰

¹⁰ It is probable, for instance, that divorced persons are underreported in the CPS, hence the true base for remarriage rates for divorced persons may be too small and the rates too high by the same proportion, on the average. (Bases and rates for single and widowed persons would be affected in the reverse direction). To the extent that previously divorced persons were reported incorrectly

In view of the problems set forth, the user of the findings should not rely upon them for minute comparisons; the data are believed to be adequate for the broad generalizations drawn from the figures in the present paper. We are hopeful that future research will provide us with more precise measurements in this important area.

as single or widowed previous to a recent marriage, however, errors in the denominator of the rates would be counterbalanced by errors in the numerator.

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THE METHODOLOGY OF FUNCTIONALISM

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THE functional approach to sociology consists basically of an attempt to understand social phenomena in terms of their relationship to some system. At least two distinct kinds of procedures, however, seem to be covered by that general statement.

One is an attempt to assess the part played by an observed pattern of behavior in the maintenance of some larger system in which it is included. Thus, the general form of a functional proposition, that "The function of x for y is t ," is translatable into the statement: The specific contribution which x makes to the persistence of y is t .

Functional statements of the above kind may also be understood as statements about the causes of the unit subserved, y , not as statements about the causes of the unit x , the functions of which are being analyzed. For example, the statement that " x is functional for y in manner t " is equivalent to the statement that "a contributing cause of y is x , because of t ."

A second type of functional analysis should be clearly distinguished from the foregoing. This is an attempt to *explain the persistence* of an observed pattern of behavior, that is, to approach an observed phenomenon with the question of *its* causes in mind.

These two approaches are very often confused by the practice of assuming that the first comprises an answer to the second—that a statement of the functional *consequences* of a pattern is a statement of the *causes* of that pattern. Thus the proposition, "the function of x for y is t " is here taken to mean not that x is a cause of y but rather that t is a cause of x .

It is a suggestion of the present paper that the problems posed by that confusion may be clarified by an attempt to formulate functional hypotheses in a form in which they will be testable in accordance with the model presented by Lazarsfeld and Kendall in their valuable paper, "Problems of Survey Analysis."¹

In Lazarsfeld's terms, the use of functionalism to determine the role of x in maintaining y , by means of t , may be viewed as the familiar procedure of attempting to interpret or explain the relationship between x and y by means of a third factor, t . When we attempt to fit several well-known functional analyses into the Lazarsfeld-Kendall research model, certain persistent confusions become clarified and procedures are suggested for avoiding them. To illustrate, let us begin with Kingsley Davis' analysis of incest taboos.

The Incest Taboo. Davis writes, "Why do incest taboos exist? No one can claim a scientific understanding of the family, or indeed of society, without an answer to this question."² His answer is as follows: "The incest taboo confines sexual relations and sentiments to the married pair alone, excluding such things from the relation of parent and child, brother and sister. In this way confusion is prevented and family organization maintained. The incest taboos *therefore exist because they are essential to and form part of the family structure.*"³

This hypothesis would seem to be one of the type which seeks to understand the existence of x (incest taboo) as being *caused* by its alleged consequences, t (prevention of confusion), which are necessary for y (maintenance of the family). Now, there is only one level of analysis on which such a conceptualization is readily seen to make sense—that on which we deal with motives. There is, for example, a valid meaning to the statement that "Smith boarded the train *because* he wanted to go to New York." The consequence of boarding a certain train is what caused Smith to do it.⁴

lems of Survey Analysis," in R. K. Merton and P. F. Lazarsfeld (eds.), *Continuities in Social Research*, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950.

² Davis, Kingsley, *Human Society*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949, p. 402.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 402. Emphasis supplied.

⁴ It remains true, of course, that a full scientific account of Smith's train boarding would have to point to the *antecedent* experiences in Smith's life

¹ Patricia L. Kendall, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Prob-

Is this the level on which Davis' hypothesis concerning incest taboos is to be understood? The matter is not clear in Davis' further analysis, which elaborates the hypothesis as follows: "If sexual relations between parent and child were permitted, sexual rivalry between mother and daughter and between father and son would almost surely arise, and this rivalry would be incompatible with the sentiments necessary between the two. Should children be born, the confusion of statuses would be phenomenal. The daughter receiving attention from her father, furthermore, would be in a weak position. . . . Her position vis-a-vis her father is one of dependence and submissiveness. Legitimate sexual relations ordinarily involve a certain amount of reciprocity."⁵

How might such hypotheses be tested? Even if we could place a thousand families on an island, remove the incest taboo, and watch the results, would the above functional explanation receive a test? Suppose, for example, that as a result of such an experiment, we observed that sons and fathers engaged in sharp rivalry for the favors of mothers and daughters and sisters; and that daughters submitted to fathers out of duty and powerlessness, just as Davis' hypothesis predicts. We could still conclude nothing about the *reason* for the incest taboo where it did exist, unless we assumed that in families observing the taboo, the consequences of not observing it were recognized and a decision had been made to avoid those results.

This is very probably an unwarranted assumption, and one which Davis would not be likely to make. Moreover, even if such an assumption of foresight were made, there would remain the problem of accounting both for the result of incest (rivalry, confusion), and for the decision to forego it. That is to say, suppose father and son did share the sexual favors of women. *Why* would damaging rivalry result? Or suppose a child *were* born to a father and his daughter. True, the child would then be "a brother of his own mother, i.e., the son of his own sister . . . and a grandson of his own

father."⁶ But would this necessarily be a "phenomenal confusion?" Would it not be so *only if* the persons insisted on retaining the mutually exclusive definition of "grandson" and "son" that we use in our kinship terminology?

The above difficulties can be resolved if we drop either the attempt to explain something in terms of its consequences, or if we deal with motives. We can, for example, retain the value of Davis' important suggestions and at the same time be more rigorous methodologically by reformulating the incest hypothesis as follows: Certain status relationships are comprised (by cultural definition) of rights and obligations and sentiments which are psychologically incompatible with certain sentiments that might be associated with sexual relations. For example, the employer-secretary, professor-student, father-daughter, priest-parishioner relationships are conventionally defined in our society so as to make sexual relationships (as *they* are conventionally defined) inconsistent with performance of the defined responsibilities. We understand the incest taboo, then, as one of a class of taboos, existing *because* the role players *have been trained* into responses incompatible with the sexual response.

In the paradigm for causal analyses suggested by Lazarsfeld and Kendall we might test the hypothesis as follows: We would begin with an observed negative correlation between mother-son relationships and sexual relationships (the figures, of course, are invented):

	Sexual Relationships
Mother-son relationship	100
Not a mother-son relationship	700
	No Sexual Relationships
Mother-son relationship	900
Not a mother-son relationship	300

Our hypothetical explanation of the negative correlation is that the mother-son relationship is one which conventionally requires

which caused his desire to go to New York, his knowledge about trains, his having the necessary fare, and so forth.

⁵ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

attitudes which are incompatible with sexual responses. We devise a measure of attitudes-incompatible-with-sexual-responses and re-examine our original four-fold table, holding this test factor constant.

	Attitudes Compatible with Sexual Responses	
	Sexual Relationships	No Sexual Relationships
Mother-son	100	50
Not mother-son	700	200

	Attitudes Not Compatible with Sexual Responses	
	Sexual Relationships	No Sexual Relationships
Mother-son	0	850
Not mother-son	0	100

The original correlation virtually disappears when the explanatory variable is held constant, thus confirming the hypothesis. Furthermore, it will be noted, we have suggested that the theory of the incest taboo is not a "special theory" despite its special label; it is to be understood as one manifestation of a more general social-psychological principle.

It might, in one sense, appear that in the above re-formulation and testing of the hypothesis we have merely avoided the problem which Davis was trying to solve. That is, we have explained the fact that mothers and sons ordinarily avoid sexual relations by pointing to the fact that the mother-son relationship is defined so as to make sexual responses impossible; whereas Davis was confronting the question, "Why is the mother-son relationship defined in that way?"

This point brings us to the heart of much confusion in the functional approach to sociology. The confusion arises from a failure to distinguish systematically among three problems: (a) The *origins* of x (incest taboo); (b) the *persistence* of x, and (c) the persistence of y (the family). Although functionalism developed in anthropology as a reaction against the historical school, it would seem that many practitioners attempt, implicitly, to wed the two by using functional techniques of analysis to deal with historical origins.

The question of the origin of the incest taboo can be handled in functional terms, but only by use of the special variant of functionalism found in evolutionary reasoning, and this requires a distinct mode of conceptualization. Thus it may be hypothesized that societies which *somehow* stumbled upon a definition of mother and son roles which made sexual responses impossible had an advantage in carrying out the socialization process, so that they are the only ones which survived. Alternatively, it may be hypothesized that those who stumbled on such a definition reduced the chances of in-breeding, and were at a biological advantage.

Such hypotheses cannot be directly tested, but they may be tested indirectly, by discovering, for example, whether or not socialization *could* occur efficiently through role definitions which permitted sexual responses. The main point, however, is that the two questions—of origins and persistence—are distinct and must be approached in different ways. Our tentative conclusion, based on the foregoing analysis of the incest taboo, is that the question of *persistence* must be conceptualized on the level of motives and attitudes. We shall see to what extent that conclusion may be supported by examination of several other functional analyses.

The Hopi Rain Dance. Robert K. Merton introduces a functional analysis of the Hopi Rain Dance with the following words, "... The Hopi ceremonies designed to produce abundant rainfall may be labeled a superstitious practice of folk ... [but it] should be noted that this in no sense *accounts for* the group behavior. . . . Given the concept of latent function, *however*, we are reminded that this behavior may perform a function for the group—*viz.*, the latent function of reinforcing the group identity by providing a periodic occasion on which the scattered members of a group assemble to engage in a common activity."⁷

It is clear that this analysis also belongs to the category of those attempting to explain the causes of an event in terms of its consequences. But again it is not entirely clear whether we are to understand the hy-

⁷ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, pp. 64-65. Emphasis supplied.

pothesis as stating that the ceremonies are held because the participants derive some gratification from them (motivational level), or whether it states that they are held because they contribute to group survival. The issue is of fundamental importance if we are to conceptualize the hypothesis in testable form. If the latter interpretation is intended, no scientific test seems possible—unless, again, it is being assumed that the Hopi are aware of the value of reinforcing the group identity and deliberately hold rain dances for that purpose, as Smith boards a train in order to get to New York.⁸

If, on the other hand, what is meant is that the persons themselves receive psychic rewards for engaging in rain dance ceremonies, the hypothesis becomes testable.

This hypothesis may be understood as stating that ignorance is not the *cause* of such behavior as dancing to make it rain; ignorance is a *condition* which facilitates the use of rain dances to generate feelings of solidarity and security.

In order to test that hypothesis, it would be necessary to conceptualize the variables on a higher level of abstraction. The analyst might have to designate superstitious ritual as the dependent variable, and include not only rain dances but all forms of group magic for many societies. If this were done, we might expect a relationship such as the following (the invented figures representing societies).

Superstitious Rituals	
Ignorance	60
No ignorance	10
No Superstitious Rituals	
Ignorance	40
No ignorance	90

Ignorance of empirical causality is positively correlated with superstition. But, the functional hypothesis suggests, this is misleading. If we can distinguish between those societies in which pleasurable feelings of identification are generated by mass rituals and those in which they are not, then accord-

ing to the hypothesis we should observe something like the following.

Security Enhanced by Mass Rituals		
	Superstition	No Superstition
Ignorance	60	20
No ignorance	10	25
Security Not Enhanced by Mass Rituals		
	Superstition	No Superstition
Ignorance	0	20
No ignorance	0	65

The correlation is sharply reduced in the first partial table and nonexistent in the second. That is to say, the hypothesis is confirmed in its implication that *if* ignorance is related to superstition, it is because ignorance of an empirical causal relation is a necessary *condition* for the use of superstition to promote solidarity.

NEED AND SYSTEM

The two functional analyses examined thus far seemed to be efforts to find the causes of certain behavior patterns in terms of their consequences. Upon raising the question of how we could test them in accordance with the Lazarsfeld-Kendall paradigm, we saw that it was necessary to formulate them in ways that couched the explanatory variable in motivational terms.

The tendency to avoid doing this may be related to another, rather more subtle, confusion in some functionalist thinking. This is the failure systematically to realize that certain needs of individuals, which must be satisfied if they are to play certain roles necessary to the operation of a system, may themselves be generated by other aspects of the system. That is to say, a functional analysis which concentrates only on locating the function (need-satisfaction) of a given culture pattern is very likely to be seriously incomplete and therefore misleading. A complete understanding of the pattern in question would require asking not only "what need does it satisfy?" but also "what is the source of that need, i.e., what culture patterns give rise to that need?"

For example, if one were to say that the

⁸ Merton's use of the term *latent*, of course, indicates that he does not make this assumption.

function of a fever in a human organism is to conserve body heat, one might be approximately correct. But to stop there, without probing the source of the need for conserving energy and heat (i.e., those characteristics of the organic system which generated that need), would obviously be incomplete and possibly misleading. It could be misleading, for example, if one were led to infer that a fever is something to be encouraged.

To generalize the point, the functionality of a subsystem may always be regarded profitably as being at least partly a result of the special organization of the larger system. It is the organization of the larger system which generates the need for the subsystem to perform its function. If the above point is not explicitly kept in mind, the analyst will be conceptually blinded to the full empirical significance of the subsystem he is analyzing. A clear example of this is provided in a recent paper by Wilbert E. Moore and Melvin Tumin, who write, "Ignorance is commonly viewed today as the natural enemy of stability and orderly progress in social life."⁹ Contrary to this common view, "It is the central purpose of this paper to examine explicitly some of the contexts in which ignorance . . . performs specifiable functions in social structure and action."¹⁰ The "functions of ignorance" are then classified as follows (we summarize the grounds of the authors' reasoning, or an illustration of it, in parenthesis after each category):

- (1) The preservation of a privileged position. (Ignorance on the part of customers and potential competitors contributes to the bargaining power of a specialist. It also serves to prevent jealousy when status equals receive unequal rewards.)
- (2) The reinforcement of traditional values. (Ignorance of alternatives, and of the popularity of alternatives, prevents practice of alternatives.)
- (3) The preservation of fair competition. (If everyone had complete knowledge of everyone else's plans and resources, the outcome would be so certain that no further action would be required.)

⁹ Wilbert E. Moore and Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Social Functions of Ignorance," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (December, 1949), p. 787.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 788.

- (4) The preservation of stereotypes. (If bureaucratic specialists had extended knowledge about one another, the limited nature of their relationships would be impaired. Also, class and ethnic stereotypes presuppose ignorance.)
- (5) The maintenance of appropriate incentives. (Uncertainty produces anxiety, which is a spur to effort. Moreover, risk, as in games of chance, may be enjoyable.)

It is clear that Moore and Tumin here start from the observation of an empirical fact—ignorance—and ask about it only a limited version of a general functional question, "to the preservation of what behavior does it contribute?" The functional analysis then consists in thinking of relationships which would be different if accurate knowledge were available. More succinctly, the functional analysis here consists in pointing to the fact that, since people respond to their definitions of a situation, if you change their definitions their responses will change. The function of a definition is to preserve the behavior which follows from it.

But let us ask some obvious questions about the dysfunctional behavior which is alleged to follow from correct definitions of the situations considered by Moore and Tumin. If business men knew about one another's processes and plans, would no further action really be required? How about the requirement of producing goods and services? Perhaps more importantly, if one business man has a more efficient process than another, is not the contribution to the social system greater if all other businesses learn about and use that process?

Answer might be made, of course, that the *incentive to seek* greater efficiency is the possibility of surpassing one's competitors, and that this incentive would disappear if the business man knew that his competitors, by having knowledge of his processes, would always be just as efficient as he. But it is important to make explicit what is being assumed here, that, to secure efficiency, a very special kind of mechanism is being relied upon—the mechanism of competition for advantage. The operation of that mechanism depends upon giving each business man a special kind of *motivational orientation*—the belief that he should be richer than others. If he has such an orientation,

of course, he will be motivated to keep his greater efficiency a secret and will be frustrated if the secret is violated. But there are further consequences of his keeping it a secret. Either he takes away his competitors' customers as a result of his superior efficiency (which spells the end of competition), or society does not reap the benefits of his efficiency.

The specific point we wish to make here is that the functionality of ignorance on the part of business men results from reliance upon a particular set of institutional mechanisms. It is true that ignorance is a functional necessity of American economic institutions, but to stop there is highly misleading. It is like saying that ethnic discrimination is a functional necessity of Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Both statements are true enough, but they represent the beginning, not the end, of productive functional analysis. What is the source of the functionality of ignorance or discrimination (that is, what normative orientations result in their being functional)? And what are the consequences of, and alternatives to, those orientations?

The same difficulty seems to characterize nearly all of the points made by Moore and Tumin that are not simply tautologies (as, for example, that ignorance of alternatives prevents their practice). Space limitation prevents our pursuing each in detail, but the general principle that seems relevant may be expressed as follows: functional analyses which take a sub-system as the sole point of reference are necessarily incomplete and likely to be misleading. A thorough analysis involves asking *both* what are the consequences of the given pattern, *and* what are the conditions that make these consequences functional? The answer to the latter question must always be sought in terms of the normative orientations and symbolic definitions comprising individuals' motivations.

It will be useful to apply these considerations to another well-known piece of functional analysis, Kingsley Davis' and Wilbert E. Moore's analysis of stratification. The problem these writers set for themselves is to account for the phenomenon of inequality in the distribution of societal rewards, chiefly prestige and income; and they seek to account for it by pointing to its function

for a social system. They begin by pointing to three undoubted facts: (1) Some positions in the social structure require scarcer talent or more training than others. (2) Some are functionally more important than others. (3) It is essential (for maximum efficiency) that "less essential positions . . . not compete successfully with more essential ones [for scarce talents]." ¹¹

Social systems, in other words, are more efficient to the degree that they evolve some mechanism for sorting their members into the functional roles for which they are comparatively best fitted, and (as Davis and Moore note further) motivate them to play those roles diligently. According to Davis and Moore, the most efficient mechanism for meeting this requirement is to attach unequal rewards to different positions, the amount of reward being greater, the greater the importance attached to a position by society and the scarcer the talent available to fill the position. This, of course, is the classical supply and demand reasoning of economic theory.

The basic logic of the Davis-Moore reasoning would seem to be this: if people are motivated to maximize their rewards, and if they can do so only by performing the most important functions their talents permit, then they will distribute themselves through the role structure in the manner most efficient for the social system.

So far, this reasoning seems impeccable. When, however, the writers go on to conclude that "Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons," ¹² they assert an empirical generalization that is not at all dictated with logical compulsion by the premises. In fact, the *empirical* significance of the two "if" premises cannot be fully understood until they are conceptualized on a level which states clearly the structural sources of motivational orientations and the psychological process of adjustment to those sources. We suggest that the following procedural canons

¹¹ Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," in Wilson and Kolb (eds.), *Sociological Analysis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1949, p. 436.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

of functional analysis might contribute to such an understanding.

- (1) Needs of a system should always be stated in terms of what kinds of actions concrete individuals must manifest.
- (2) The question should always be explicitly raised as to what kinds of motivations would lead people to act in the necessary manner.
- (3) The psychological principles on which the answer to motivational questions is based should always be made explicit.
- (4) The question should always be raised as to the full consequences of any observed motivational structures.

Applying these canons to the problem of stratification, we venture the following analysis as alternative to the Davis-Moore approach. (The numbers in parentheses after each point refer to the canon suggested above to which the proposition is intended to conform.)

If a complex division of labor is to operate efficiently, then people must play those roles for which they are best fitted and must play them to the best of their abilities (1). Since people behave so as to maximize their gratifications, gratifications must be made conditional upon diligent playing of the role for which they are best fitted (3). Since what is gratifying for human beings is chiefly the meeting of certain normative criteria of self-respect and ego-enhancement (3), the normative criteria in question should be those which make self-respect follow from playing the role for which one is best fitted (2).

If the normative criteria are something different—for example, if they are such as to make self-respect depend upon having a certain position or a certain income—then we must expect that many people will be deprived of self-respect (4). When people are deprived of self-respect, they react by attempting to minimize the damage. This leads to one or more of several types of compulsive adjustment:¹³ compulsive achievement or dominance; incorrigibility or aggression; submission or ritualism; withdrawal (4). Any one of these interferes with efficiency, and constitutes a source of instability.

Confirmation of this line of reasoning comes from Merton's functional analysis of the political machine.¹⁴ Examination of that analysis will also serve as an illustration of the utility of following the procedural canons suggested above, and will in addition permit their more detailed elaboration.

Merton's announced purpose is to account for the political machine. The logic of his procedure seems to be as follows. He begins by asking what are the needs of a social system and in partial answer points to the necessity of focusing enough power in the hands of some persons to permit them to take positive action when positive action is called for. One kind of *motivation* which would meet this requirement is the responsibility for carrying out formally prescribed role-obligations. This, however, is ruled out by the fact that the formal definitions of existing roles are designed precisely to spread power thin through checks and balances.

The result is that when different subgroups in the population need action, there is no formal structure to satisfy them. But what are such needs and where do they come from? One kind of need is the need for help, when forces beyond the individual's control defeat him—"the whole range of crises when a fellow needs a friend, and, above all, a friend who knows the score and can do something about it."¹⁵

Moreover, the help must not be rendered in such a way as to threaten the loss of self-respect which is often the price for legalized assistance.¹⁶ Another kind of need of the deprived classes is the need for social mobility and economic success. The meeting of this need is also blocked in many cases by the formal institutional structure, so that the informal one of the political machine and its ally, the racket, finds a ready response.

But whence such needs? They result from the normative definitions of the dominant culture. "As is well known, the American culture lays enormous emphasis on money and power as a 'success' goal Given our cultural stigmatization of manual labor [and of dependence on charity] . . . it is clear

¹³ These familiar categories are taken from Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952, Chapter 7.

¹⁴ Merton, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

that the result is a tendency to achieve those culturally approved objectives through whatever means are possible."¹⁷

Still another kind of need is the need of business men for political aid, aid which the formal structure, with its commitment to fair competition as the mechanism for distributing talent among important positions, is not able to give efficiently. "Business corporations . . . seek special political dispensation which will enable them to stabilize their situation and to near their objective of maximizing profits."¹⁸ Whence this need? Merton quotes Lincoln Steffens: "Our economic system, which held up riches, power, and acclaim as prizes to men bold enough to buy corruptly . . . and get away with it . . ." ¹⁹ is the source.

Using Merton's analysis as a model, we might summarize and elaborate a recom-

mended procedure for functional analysis as follows:

- (1) Productive analysis begins with a statement of the kind of action necessary to maintain some system of inter-relationships, namely, the system of which the observed uniformity is a part.
- (2) It states the motivational conditions which are necessary to produce that action (the normative criteria of gratification which will yield the relevant action).
- (3) It describes the motivational patterns actually operating so as to produce the uniformity under analysis.
- (4) It seeks to find the source of those patterns (to isolate the normative criteria responsible for the observed actions).
- (5) It compares the consequences of the operating motivation with the motivations described as necessary, including the deviant modes of adjusting to frustration of efforts to meet the criteria in question.
- (6) It finally assesses the role played by the uniformity in question in contributing to the system of which it is a part.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

SOCIAL MOBILITY TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

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THE view that the rate of upward mobility in American society has declined seems to be widely held among social scientists. W. Lloyd Warner has commented, for example: "There is strong proof now that the American worker, as well as others, can no longer expect to achieve success with anything like the same probability as did his father and grandfather."¹ Discussions of the Horatio Alger tradition of "rags to riches" and "strive and succeed" often refer to it as a myth once applicable to American society but now only an ideological prop to things as they are.² Even introductory text-

books in sociology frequently assert that there has been a definite decline in the rate of upward movement in the social structure.³

The recent appearance of several substantial studies which suggest that the rate of mobility may not have declined⁴ and the

function for motivating members of the society to work within the social framework. . . . In short, the role of this doctrine has changed from that of roughly valid theorem to that of an ideology." *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, p. 380, n. 20.

³ See, for example, A. Green, *Sociology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, pp. 303-307; F. E. Merrill and H. W. Eldredge, *Culture and Society*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952, pp. 288-291; M. M. Tumin and J. W. Bennett, *Social Life: Structure and Function*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. 474, 575-576.

⁴ N. Rogoff, *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953; S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (January and March, 1952), pp.

¹ W. L. Warner, *Structure of American Life*, Edinburgh: The University Press, 1952, p. 76.

² See, for example, R. K. Merton's comment: "The 'office-boy to president' imagery was once in approximate accord with the facts, in the loose sense that vertical mobility was probably more common then than now. The ideology persists however, possibly because it still performs an important

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366-374, T. F. M. Career P Review, W. Peters of decline of Oppor 1953), pp Classes in can Socie pp. 775-7 ⁵ See, correlation ticipation, munity, amount of K. Eels, S Research

growing awareness among sociologists of the inadequacy of the available data call for an appraisal of our knowledge concerning possible changes in the rate of upward movement in American society. Only by assembling and collating the facts which are available can we test the prevalent assertions about vertical mobility, see the gaps in our knowledge, and define the direction in which research should be channelled.

Students of social mobility have usually focused their attention upon movement in the occupational hierarchy. Despite difficulties inherent in the use of occupational data, no other type of information is as readily available or as amenable to systematic analysis. More important, however, are the theoretical and empirical reasons for using occupational mobility as equivalent to, or an index of, social mobility. Occupational data are relevant to all theories of stratification utilized by contemporary sociologists. For those who define class structure as a prestige hierarchy or as a number of "class-conscious" groups, occupation is both an index and a determinant of class position. For Marxists, occupational mobility is roughly the same as social mobility if occupations are classified on the basis of their relations to the means of production. For those whose categories of stratification follow Max Weber, occupation is of obvious utility because of its role in determining life chances in the market-place.

The mass of available evidence demonstrates clearly the existence of a high correlation between occupation and the various criteria of class: prestige, income, wealth, style of life, and power.⁵ Although there is

some disagreement on the relative importance of each of these variables within the total system, there seems ample warrant for concluding that in American society, at least, occupation is probably the most significant, that is, it is more likely to influence other variables than to be influenced by them.⁶

The analysis of occupational mobility has taken two forms, inferential and direct. Inferential analysis focuses attention upon changes in American society which may affect the rate of mobility. Conclusions about trends are inferred from the facts of institutional, structural, and demographic change.

The second form of mobility analysis seeks to compare directly the social origins and career patterns of members of each class at different times in order to establish the frequency or rate of mobility and to discover any changes or trends. There are serious unresolved problems in this form of analysis. No adequate, clearly defined measure of the rate of mobility exists.⁷ Even if an adequate measure were available, there are few data concerning the origins and careers of representative groups of individuals in past generations with which to make comparisons with the present. The first steps toward filling gaps in our historical knowledge have been taken,⁸ but it is quite possible that we shall not be able to uncover more than scattered pieces of information.

These two modes of analysis are not unrelated lines of inquiry. The study of mobility among groups of individuals should be guided by hypotheses derived from the main features of historical development and must

366-374, 494-504; R. Bendix, S. M. Lipset, and T. F. Malm, "Social Origins and Occupational Career Patterns," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, VII (January, 1954), pp. 246-261. See also W. Petersen's attempted refutation of the assertion of declining mobility, "Is America Still the Land of Opportunity?" *Commentary*, XVI (November, 1953), pp. 477-486, and G. Sjöberg, "Are Social Classes in America Becoming More Rigid?" *American Sociological Review*, XVI (December, 1951), pp. 775-783.

⁵ See, for example, Warner's findings that the correlation between occupation and "evaluated participation," that is, prestige standing in the community, was .91 and between occupation and amount of income .87. W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, K. Eels, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, pp. 168, 172.

⁶ See T. Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 174, 178.

⁷ The ingenious formula for "social distance mobility" constructed by Natalie Rogoff and Herbert Goldhamer is of only limited value because it deliberately excludes the influence of changing occupational structure upon the rate of mobility. See Rogoff, *op. cit.*

⁸ See, for example, Rogoff, *op. cit.*; R. Ginger, "Managerial Employees in Anthracite, 1902: A Study in Occupational Mobility," *Journal of Economic History*, XIV (Spring, 1954), pp. 146-157; W. Miller (Ed.), *Men in Business*, Chapter 7 (by F. W. Gregory and I. D. Neu) and Chapter 11 (by W. Miller), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952; C. W. Mills, "The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait," *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement V (December, 1945), pp. 20-44.

take into account changes in the class structure itself. Conversely, hypotheses drawn from the study of social change can only be tested by systematic investigation of the experience of groups of individuals.

The major changes in American society from which scholars have inferred that the rate of vertical mobility has declined have been the closing of the frontier, the cessation of mass immigration, the growth of giant corporations, and diminishing differences in the birth rates of various occupational groups. The principal stimulus to vertical mobility, in the judgment of most scholars, has been the occupational redistribution of the working population.⁹

Let us examine each of these inferences.

For many years it has been almost a commonplace of American history that the closing of the frontier meant that dissatisfied and frustrated urban workers could no longer easily acquire land in the west.¹⁰ The investigations of Fred A. Shannon, Carter Goodrich and Sol Davidson have shown clearly, however, that after the Civil War urban workers did not take advantage in substantial numbers of land available on the frontier.¹¹ The closing of the frontier, therefore, could not have caused any substantial decline in the rate of mobility of urban workers.¹²

⁹ For a discussion of some of these assertions, see E. Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, VII (June, 1942), pp. 332-340, and J. O. Hertzler, "Some Tendencies Toward a Closed Class System in the United States," *Social Forces*, XXX (March, 1952), pp. 313-323.

¹⁰ Frederick Lewis Allen has written, for example: "Traditionally, when the American workingman's position had become intolerable, he could always go west—if he could raise the cash to go. The West had been the land of new hope, not only for men of adventurous disposition, but also for the discards of industrialism. But now the frontier was closed, and though there were still chances for a man to arrive in the West with nothing and then to achieve comfort, these chances seemed to be dwindling." *The Big Change*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952, p. 51.

¹¹ F. A. Shannon, "The Homestead Act and the Labor Surplus," *American Historical Review*, XLI (July, 1936), pp. 637-651, and "A Post-Mortem on the Labor-Safety-Valve Theory," *Agricultural History*, XIX (January, 1945), pp. 31-37; C. Goodrich and S. Davidson, "The Wage-Earner in the Westward Movement," *Political Science Quarterly*, L (June, 1935), pp. 161-185 and LI (March, 1936), pp. 61-116.

¹² Shannon has suggested not only that the west

In the cities, the mass immigration which ended only with the First World War generated strong pressure for upward mobility among those who had come earlier. Since most immigrants entered the economy as unskilled laborers, earlier arrivals were able to work their way upwards in business and industry.¹³ Jobs at the bottom of the industrial heap now must be filled by native Americans instead of by recent immigrants.¹⁴ If other things were equal, therefore, only greater competition for desirable positions and an increased rate of downward mobility could compensate for the cessation of mass immigration.

The immigrants' contribution to vertical circulation was possible, however, only because of the rapid growth of the economy. Both immigration and the settling of the west contributed directly to that growth. When economic expansion came to a virtual halt during the thirties, many observers, convinced that the economy was "mature," concluded that the rich opportunities for individual advancement which had accompanied the nation's economic development could no longer exist. The expansion of the economy during and since the war has clearly disposed of the view that there was no longer room for economic growth. Yet in itself economic growth offers no assurance of continued or increasing mobility. Even in our highly productive, expanding economy, the possibility of a persisting volume of mass unemployment which might inhibit advancement for millions of individuals still exists. In addition, opportunity and mobility in a society dominated by giant corporations and big government differ in many ways from what they were in the past.

Since the end of the Civil War large cor-

did not serve as a safety-valve for discontented workers, but also that "The rise of the city in the nineteenth century was a safety valve for rural discontent." *The Farmer's Last Frontier*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945, p. 359.

¹³ See I. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*, New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1912, Chapter 7, and Sibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-325.

¹⁴ Peterson has suggested that migration from Canada, Mexico, and Puerto Rico has compensated to some extent for the virtual ending of migration from Europe. As he points out, however, the total number of migrants from these sources is quite small compared to earlier mass immigration and is significant only in certain regions. *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

porations have increasingly dominated the economy. The effects of this trend upon the rate of mobility, however, are not clear. The size and scope of big business tend to obscure the fact that the relative size of the small business population has not decreased in the past century; nor has the rate of failure of small business increased substantially.¹⁵ It is still possible for men to go into business, as large numbers do each year, although the social and economic position of small businessmen has been significantly altered. They are confined largely to the fields of distribution and service in which the rate of failure is particularly high and the chances of growing from a small to a large business are limited. They have lost many of their entrepreneurial functions to the corporations whose products they usually sell or service, and their income and prestige may be less than that of many manual workers and clerical employees, and their style of life less rewarding.

Within giant corporations, increasing organizational complexity and extensive mechanization have changed the form and perhaps the frequency of mobility. There is considerable evidence that movement from the ranks of manual labor into management has diminished,¹⁶ although a declining rate of ascent from the bottom may be counterbalanced by increased mobility within white-collar ranks.¹⁷

The development of giant bureaucracies in business and industry,¹⁸ and in government

and mass organizations, together with the expansion of tertiary industries—service, distribution, communication—has, however, generated occupational shifts which have probably led to a substantial volume of upward mobility. There has been a marked increase in the proportion of the total working force engaged in white-collar, non-manual occupations, from twenty-one per cent in 1910 to thirty-eight per cent, in 1950. Most of this growth has been balanced by a sharp decrease in the farm population, from thirty-one per cent in 1910 to only twelve per cent in 1950.

The intensive mechanization of industry has also changed the composition of the working class, with possible consequences for the rate of mobility. Although the proportion of skilled workers has remained approximately the same, unskilled workers declined from fifteen per cent to less than ten per cent while semi-skilled workers increased from fifteen to twenty per cent during the years from 1910 to 1950. These changes probably represent an upgrading of a large number of industrial workers.¹⁹

Mobility generated by occupational changes was further stimulated for many years by differences in the birth rates of the major occupational groups. Professionals, businessmen, and clerical employees who were increasing their proportion in the total working force were not producing enough children to replace themselves, while manual workers and farmers were having more children than were necessary to maintain their numbers.²⁰ The "social vacuum" created by the low birth rate of white-collar groups was filled by children of urban manual workers and farmers. Since a large number of mi-

however, probably exaggerate the opportunities available, since many of these positions were undoubtedly dead-end clerical jobs held by women. S. Melman, "The Rise of Administrative Overhead in the Manufacturing Industries of the United States," *Oxford Economic Papers* (New Series), III (February, 1951), p. 89.

¹⁹ Data for 1910 to 1940 from *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States 1870 to 1940*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943, p. 187. Data for 1950 from *Census of Population: 1950*, Volume II, Part I, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953, p. 102.

²⁰ For a summary of evidence, see P. H. Landis and P. K. Hatt, *Population Problems*, Second Edition, New York: American Book Company, 1954, Chapters 12, 14. See also C. F. Westoff,

¹⁵ K. Mayer, "Small Business as a Social Institution," *Social Research*, XIV (September, 1947), pp. 332-349, and "Business Enterprise: Traditional Symbol of Opportunity," *British Journal of Sociology*, IV (June, 1953), pp. 160-180.

¹⁶ For a description of how mechanization has narrowed opportunities for textile workers to rise into management, see E. D. Smith, *Technology and Labor*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939, pp. 130-133. See also J. McConnell, *The Evolution of Social Classes*, Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 87-88, and R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1937, pp. 67-72.

¹⁷ J. T. Adams has pointed out that with the decline of family enterprise positions at the top of large corporations cannot be inherited but must be earned. Sons of executives possess obvious advantages, but they must be able to demonstrate some ability as well. *Big Business in a Democracy*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945, pp. 217-218.

¹⁸ In industry the ratio of administrative, clerical and technical employees to production workers rose from 9.9 in 1899 to 22 in 1947. These figures,

grants to the city seem to have come from the lower economic levels of agriculture,²¹ it is a plausible hypothesis that many of those who left the farm have become manual laborers, replacing workers—or their children—who in turn have moved into white-collar ranks.

The stimulus to mobility provided by differential birth rates has probably lessened in recent years with the increased fertility of white-collar workers, an increase which has seemingly narrowed the differences between manual and non-manual workers.²² The higher birth-rate among non-manual workers fills at least part of the "social vacuum" which existed in the past, while working class and farm families produce a smaller surplus population.

Upward mobility resulting from migration to the cities has been offset at least in part by a steady decline in the possibility of movement up the so-called agricultural ladder, whose steps went from hired hand to tenant to farm owner. The proportion of tenants among farmers increased steadily from 1880 to 1935, when forty-two per cent of all farmers were tenants. Several studies after the First World War demonstrated clearly that farmers were taking longer to gain ownership of their land and suggested that many tenants were giving up their ambitions and moving to the city.²³ Census data for the past fifty years verify this hypothesis, for the total number of farm owners has remained roughly the same from 1900 to 1950 while the number of tenants,

which had increased slightly from 1900 to 1935, dropped by almost fifty per cent from 1935 to 1950. The number of farm laborers has also diminished by one-third since 1930.²⁴

From this historical analysis no conclusive answer can be given to the question: What has been happening to the rate of upward mobility? The channels for mobility have changed, as have the prerequisites for advancement and, in all probability, the rate of upward movement within each channel. But we cannot yet determine, without more studies focused directly upon the experience of groups of individuals, whether the factors which have tended to maintain or increase the rate of vertical mobility have offset those circumstances which have inhibited ascent in the class structure.

What can we learn from those direct studies of mobility which are available? These studies fall into three categories: (1) research into the social origins and career patterns of specific occupational groups, usually those at the top of the occupational ladder; (2) investigations of mobility in samples drawn from specific localities;²⁵ (3) a study by Richard Centers of a sample drawn from the total population.²⁶ Most of these studies deal with intergenerational mobility, that is changes in occupation from father to son. Much less attention has been given to career advancement, that is movement from occupation to occupation during the lifetime of individuals.²⁷

A series of investigations which began with Sorokin's study of millionaires and Taussig and Joslyn's *American Business Leaders* provide considerable evidence that the proportion of top business owners and executives recruited from lower levels of

"Differential Fertility in the United States: 1900 to 1952," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (October, 1954), pp. 549-561.

²¹ See C. C. Zimmerman, "The Migration to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (November, 1926), pp. 450-455, and XXXIII (July, 1927), pp. 105-107; T. J. Wooster and E. Winston, *Seven Lean Years*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. 36-37; G. W. Hill and H. T. Christensen, "Some Cultural Factors Related to Occupational Mobility Among Wisconsin Farmers," *Rural Sociology*, VII (June, 1942), pp. 193-200.

²² Hertzler, *op. cit.*; Westoff, *op. cit.*

²³ See W. J. Spillman, "The Agricultural Ladder," *American Economic Review*, IX (March, 1919, Supplement), pp. 170-179. For a more recent discussion see J. D. Black and R. H. Allen, "Farm Tenancy in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LI (May, 1937), pp. 393-425.

²⁴ *Census of Agriculture: 1950, General Report*, Volume II, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952, pp. 924-925.

²⁵ P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community*, Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937; Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*; Bendix, Lipset, and Malm, *op. cit.*; Rogoff, *op. cit.*

²⁶ R. Centers, "Occupational Mobility of Urban Occupational Strata," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (April, 1948), pp. 197-203.

²⁷ See, however, Davidson and Anderson, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3, and Bendix, Lipset, and Malm, *op. cit.*

American society has steadily declined.²⁸ Although this fact possesses obvious sociological importance, it is not adequate evidence of an over-all decline in the rate of vertical mobility. Comparable data for other elite groups are not available, and increasing movement into other segments of the social structure may balance this decline in mobility into the upper ranks of business.

The direct studies of mobility which encompass all occupational groups found that "The general tendency is for more sons to be located on their fathers' levels than any other."²⁹ Each of them also reported that a considerable proportion of its sample experienced some vertical mobility. Centers, for example, found that thirty-five per cent of his sample were in positions which could be considered better than those of their fathers, while twenty-nine per cent were in positions not as good as those of their fathers.³⁰ Most of the mobility in all studies, however, was only to occupational levels adjacent to those of the fathers.

Comparison and collation of results of these direct studies in order to ascertain changes or trends in the rate of mobility are difficult for several reasons. First, there is considerable variation in the occupational categories which are used. The only classification which has been used consistently has been skilled workers. Some comparability can be achieved by combining categories, but only at the expense of precise analysis.

Second, no information is available about the specific localities in which studies have been done. One may legitimately ask whether

the rate of mobility in any one area is typical of the entire society. Without data about these localities and their history, no answer to this question is possible. Nor are we able to judge which forces stimulating or inhibiting mobility are at work, and the findings therefore cannot be used to test precise hypotheses about variations in the rate of mobility.

Third, each of these investigations covered different periods of time. Davidson and Anderson secured their data in 1933-1934, Centers in 1945, Bendix, Lipset, and Malm in 1949-1950. The data used by Rogoff were from two periods, 1905-1912 and 1938-1941. It is quite possible that in each case short-run economic fluctuations might have affected the findings.

It is hardly, surprising, therefore, that the findings of these direct mobility studies have been variously interpreted. The studies by Davidson and Anderson and Richard Centers, for example, have been frequently taken as evidence of declining mobility.³¹ This conclusion rests, however, at least in part upon an image of the American past which may not correspond to the historical facts.³² But recently produced evidence that not as much mobility has existed in the past as Americans have long assumed has led to the conclusion, equally unwarranted by the available evidence, that there has been no decline in the rate of mobility.³³

Only the study by Natalie Rogoff seeks to deal systematically with the problem of changing rates of mobility. Her conclusion that no change has occurred has only limited value, however, because it is based upon a formula which excludes the effects of the changing occupational distribution and does not adequately balance the gains and losses in the rates of mobility of different occupational groups. Nor do we know enough as yet about the locality in which the research

²⁸ P. A. Sorokin, "American Millionaires and Multimillionaires," *Social Forces*, III (May, 1925), pp. 627-640; F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders*, New York: Macmillan, 1932; Mills, *op. cit.*; Miller, *op. cit.*, and "American Historians and the Business Elite," *Journal of Economic History*, IX (November, 1949), pp. 184-200; "Thirty Thousand Managers," *Fortune*, February, 1940; "The Nine Hundred," *Fortune*, November, 1952. Compare also the lists of leading business men prepared by B. C. Forbes in 1917 and 1947. B. C. Forbes, *Men Who are Making America and America's Fifty Foremost Business Leaders*, New York: B. C. Forbes Publishing Company, 1917 and 1947.

²⁹ Davidson and Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 23. See also Centers, *op. cit.*, p. 199, and Rogoff, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

³⁰ Centers, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

³¹ See, for example, W. E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, revised edition, New York: Macmillan, 1951, pp. 582-583.

³² William Miller has commented: "Poor immigrant boys and poor farm boys who became famous business leaders have always been more conspicuous in American history books than in the American business elite," "American Historians and the Business Elite," p. 200.

³³ See, for example, Petersen, *op. cit.*

was done to enable us to draw wider conclusions. Fortunately other students will be able to examine and analyse in their own fashion the raw data collected by Miss Rogoff and included in her published report.

It seems clear, then, that neither inferential analysis based upon historical study nor direct analysis of mobility of groups of individuals can yet indicate whether there has been any change in the rate of vertical mobility in American society. The answer to that question must wait upon more detailed studies which not only build upon the research already done, but which also seek

to test precise hypotheses concerning the impact of changing institutions, social organization, and demographic characteristics upon the rate of mobility. The balancing of the as yet unformulated mobility equation, which must take into account increased mobility through new channels of upward movement, decreased mobility through narrowing channels of advancement, changing frequencies of mobility in different groups, and trends in the nature of the class system itself, requires considerably more research energy and effort than sociologists have as yet devoted to the problem.

CHILDHOOD BACKGROUNDS OF SUCCESS IN A PROFESSION

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THE general run of vertical mobility studies seem to constitute an attempt to delineate occupational movement along a vertical axis between two or more male generations.¹ However valuable some of these studies may be, they do not seem to throw much light upon vertical movement within a given occupation group.²

Does anyone know what makes for success within any occupation? Some vocational counselors who believe they know proceed to give advice to high school and college students on the occupation for which each is presumably best fitted. The more sophisticated of such counselors utilize vocational aptitude tests,³ despite their questionable validity. Until rigidly controlled scientific studies within occupations are conducted, attempting to associate background

factors with success in each occupation, aptitude tests and vocational counseling based upon them will rest upon uncertain foundations.

Paul Horst seems to be aware of the problem, here, when he states:

In repeated studies there seem to be indications of a relationship between . . . background items and success in various activities. . . . Since personal history data appear to be important for prediction, it would seem worthwhile to give more logical and systematic consideration to this type of material. . . . At the present time, this body of predictive materials gives the impression of much disorder and overlapping effort.⁴

Several investigators have attempted to relate background factors to *general* achievement.⁵ What seem to be needed are studies

¹ See, e.g., F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932; Stuart Adams, "Regional Differences in Vertical Mobility in a High-Status Occupation," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 228-235; P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928.

² See the pertinent criticism of Charles F. Westoff, "The Changing Focus of Differential Fertility Research: The Social Mobility Hypothesis," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXI (January, 1953), pp. 24-38.

³ G. I. Freeman and E. K. Taylor, *How to Pick Leaders*, New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1950 (especially Chapter VIII).

⁴ Paul Horst, et al., *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*, New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 48, 1941, pp. 123-124.

⁵ See, e.g., Lewis M. Terman and Melita H. Oden, *The Gifted Child Grows Up*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1947; Paul Witty, editor, *The Gifted Child*, New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1951; S. S. Visher, "Environmental Backgrounds of Leading American Scientists," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (February, 1948), pp. 66-72; J. Schneider, "Social Origin and Fame: The United States and England," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (February, 1945), pp. 52-60; Robert E. L. Faris, "Sociological Causes of Genius," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (October, 1940), pp. 689-699.

of *specific* achievement within specific occupations, relating such achievement to background factors in the life history. If a large enough number of independent variables among background factors could be discovered associated with success within a given occupation, vocational counseling could be done with greater confidence.

The difficulties confronting an investigator of success, or upward mobility, within an occupation are numerous. Some of these are related to the construction of an accurate and valid scale for measuring status as well as vertical movement within a given occupation. The present investigator utilized what seems to be a fruitful method for studying vertical mobility within a profession.

The profession studied is the Methodist ministry, and the measurement of status within the professional group is, with qualifications, annual salary. This occupational group was selected because it seems to possess certain desirable features: (1) its status system seems to be reflected in annual salary, (2) the salary is available in annual publications, and (3) upward mobility within this profession seems greatly determined by publicly demonstrated and evaluated performance in a field of clearly defined values to be achieved.

Upward mobility is a consequence of successful face-to-face social interaction with laymen and fellow ministers. One's salary is commensurate with his desirability as pastor and preacher, a desirability based upon his reputation and observed performance. In such performance, whether from the pulpit or in small group interaction, there is something revealed, not merely in the nature of professional skills which can be learned by the average person through formal education and years of professional experience, but particularly in the nature of crucial factors related to personality structure which, although known, cannot be readily learned, factors possibly explained through childhood social interaction. One's testing is continuous and status must be continuously validated by current performance.

A minister's social skills, repeatedly demonstrated, become a favorite topic of conversation among church members. His unusual accomplishments, as well as his unfortunate blunders, very rapidly are passed

around the church community by the few who were there to the many, via grape-vine. This gossip has the effect of raising or lowering the minister's prestige, influencing subsequent attendance at church services by members as well as by non-members who are potential members or who, at any rate, currently contribute to the church. Status is continuously validated through social interaction, and there is no escape from the process.

The social selection of those who move upward in this profession requires of them an insight into the nature of human motivation, social organization, sources of social power, as well as channels through which such power flows. It requires not only the knowledge but, what is equally important, an ability to utilize it, applying it strategically at appropriate times in social interaction. This, it seems, is crucial for upward mobility. Many appear to have the knowledge of and insight into factors indicated above. But relatively few seem able to use such knowledge and insight to achieve deliberately sought results.

SELECTION OF SAMPLE

The sample was drawn from a sub-universe within a universe of over 20,000 Methodist ministers. The sub-universe comprised only those who had been in the active ministry between 20 and 26 years. It had been found in an earlier pilot study that the highest status attainable within the Methodist clergy, that of bishop, takes on an average of 20 to 26 years to reach. On the other hand, some downward mobility, except in the case of bishops, tends to occur during the last decade or so of professional life. Since present salary was to be used as the present status differentiating measure, the sample was selected from those who had been in the profession from 20 to 26 years. Only white subjects were included in the sample, in order to avoid an important variable. All 44 white bishops were arbitrarily included. In all, the original sample included 608 persons.

METHOD

After 17 case histories were secured through interviews with a cross-sectional

sample and with 3 bishops, a detailed questionnaire was constructed, calling for data on the life history, particularly on childhood background. Together with a personally typed letter, this questionnaire was sent to all 608 in the "gross" sample. Adding deaths of subjects in the sample of questionnaires returned by the post office, stamped "Address Unknown," a total of 60 had to be discarded from the original sample of 608, leaving 548. Of these, 332 returned questionnaires, including 24 bishops. Only 316 of those returned were usable.

The 316 subjects represented in the usable returned questionnaires were ranked according to salary, with qualifications. Each subject was first ranked within his own geographic area, the Annual Conference area, of which there are 106. Of these, 93 are white Annual Conference areas, of which 77 are represented in the sample.

In the ranking of subjects, a salary frequency distribution was first made for each Annual Conference area, and each subject was ranked within his own area on salary, a percentile rank score being calculated for him. Then, all 316 subjects were ranked with each other, the order of rank being determined by the numerical value of the rank score of each. This, it is believed, neutralized the regional variation in annual salary. Bishops were arbitrarily assigned the topmost rank.

In the analysis, the sample was stratified into quarters of 79 each, and comparisons were made of the upper with the lower parts of the distribution. Chi-square was used to test for difference. Only those differences between the more successful and less successful subjects which could have occurred by chance less than 5 times out of 100 are being presented here.

FINDINGS

No special effort is here made to relate the findings to each other. They are being merely listed in the following tables, where Q_1 and Q_4 represent the highest-ranking and lowest-ranking quarters, respectively. Table 1 lists those correlates of success which could have occurred by chance less than one time out of 100. Table 2 lists those with a probability between .01 and .05.

TABLE 1. CORRELATES OF SUCCESS OF METHODIST MINISTERS WITH A LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE BELOW .01

Correlate	Direction of Association
Size of community of residence, age 6-12	Q_1 resided in largest communities and Q_4 in smallest
Size of school subject attended, age 6-12	Q_1 attended the largest and Q_4 the smallest
Age when subject started high school	Q_1 started earliest and Q_4 latest
Age when subject felt himself accepted as equal by mother	Q_1 felt accepted at earliest age and Q_4 at latest
Age when subject first got idea of entering ministry	Q_1 got idea at earliest age and Q_4 latest
How favorably mother of subject viewed ministers during subject's childhood	Q_1 mothers viewed ministers most favorably and mothers of Q_4 least favorably
How often subject's mother's counsel was sought by friends and neighbors	Counsel of Q_1 mothers was sought most often and that of Q_4 mothers least often
Number of children in subject's childhood family	Q_1 had smallest and Q_4 largest
Subject's major field in college:	
Social Sciences	Q_1 had largest number and Q_4 smallest
Philosophy	Q_1 had largest number and Q_4 smallest
Religion	Q_1 had smallest number and Q_4 largest

DISCUSSION

A number of the above correlates suggest relatively stable culturally defined patterns of social interaction involving familiar roles, child-father, child-mother, older sibling-younger sibling, social-class role, school role, community role, and the like. Horst points out that:

... the relative stability of the individual's performances, when they have become incorporated in such structures, has probably blinded psychologists and sociologists to the necessity for analyzing more explicitly the structure of the situations in which assumed traits are manifested.⁶

No detailed analysis of roles, social, cultural, or situational, is being attempted, here. What

⁶ Paul Horst, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

TABLE 2. CORRELATES OF SUCCESS OF METHODIST MINISTERS WITH A LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN .01 AND .05

Correlate	Direction of Association
Size of community of residence of subject:	
age 0-5	Largest for Q_1 and smallest for Q_4
age 13-college	Largest for Q_1 and smallest for Q_4
Size of school attended, age 13 to college age	Largest for Q_1 and smallest for Q_4
Age when subject started school (except bishops)	Q_1 earliest and Q_4 latest
Number of times subject moved from one community to another before high school graduation	Q_1 greatest number and Q_4 smallest
Subject's sibling position: Only child	Q_1 greatest number and Q_4 smallest
Mother's sibling position: Only child	Q_1 greatest number and Q_4 had none
Father's sibling position: Only child	Q_1 greatest number and Q_4 had none
Older or oldest	Q_1 greatest number and Q_4 smallest
Younger or youngest	Q_4 greatest number and Q_1 smallest
Age-interval between subject and next older sibling, in months	Interval between Q_1 and sibling was greatest, and interval between Q_4 and sibling was smallest
Number of children subject's mother ever had	Q_1 had greatest number and Q_4 smallest
father ever had *	Q_4 had greatest number and Q_1 smallest
Occupation of subject's father:	
Professional	Q_1 had greatest number and Q_4 smallest
Proprietors, Managers and Officials	Q_1 had greatest number and Q_4 smallest
Farmers (including owners and laborers)	Q_4 had greatest number and Q_1 smallest
Years of education for:	
father	Q_1 had greatest number and Q_4 smallest
mother	Q_1 had greatest number and Q_4 smallest
subject	Q_1 had greatest number and Q_4 smallest
Age when subject felt himself accepted as equal by father (except bishops)	Q_1 at lowest age and Q_4 at highest
How happily married father was	Q_1 most happily and Q_4 least

* Some remarried parents had children with two or more mates, hence the necessity for indicating separately the number of children for each parent.

is being suggested is that roles provide ready-made molds for channeling and gratifying impulse, as well as for habitual patterning of responses. Indeed, culture seems to be internalized largely through assumption of roles in group living,⁷ or through covert internal rehearsal of observed roles in anticipation of enacting them overtly sometime in the future.⁸ Through role-playing one internalizes basic responses which seem to persist tenaciously into adulthood and which seem to be related to success within this profession under analysis.

Although the correlates listed here focus largely upon the external situation, it is realized that roles have both objective and subjective components. The focus upon objective components in the present study was made in the scientific interest of achieving maximum objectivity. However, without a knowledge of inner responses to external situations, no amount of detailed depicting of external events in a life-history, as Healy⁹ observed, can provide sufficient insight into the essential forces influencing behavior and personality formation. Read Bain makes the same point when he affirms that "... social science must systematically analyze both the objective and subjective data," keeping in mind that a "situation includes factors that exist only for the actors," which "must be directly grasped by the investigator."¹⁰

A role may be viewed *on the objective side*, then, as a cluster of self-other behavior patterns that tend to recur as a cluster in successive, similarly structured social situations and, *on the subjective side*, as a self-image that squares or harmonizes enough with the self-other behavior patterns to permit the necessary communication for the social interaction required to complete the dramatic episode. For optimum comprehen-

⁷ See, e.g., Eugene L. and Ruth E. Hartley, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, New York: Knopf, 1952, p. 503.

⁸ Arnold W. Green, *Sociology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, p. 165.

⁹ See William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*, Boston: Judge Baker Foundation, 40 N. Court St., Case No. 1, 1922, p. 26-a.

¹⁰ Read Bain, "A Note on Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research," *American Quarterly*, 3 (Winter, 1951), pp. 371-375 (mimeographed reprint circulated by the Social Science Research Council).

sion, then, role analysis requires a longitudinal situational analysis in which a series of similarly structured social situations are observed to call forth relatively consistent responses from one playing a role, which responses tend to leave habit precipitates that comprise the relatively enduring components of personality structure. Basic to communication and social interaction, needless to say, are shared frames of reference, or a common orientation to values as well as to symbols used to represent such values.

From this emerges a conception of personality as an internal organization of attitudes and roles, in dynamic equilibrium, structured by repeated gratification of organic and psycho-social needs, through social interaction largely culturally patterned. The roles which seem to leave the deepest imprint are those which, of the many tried, have been found satisfying or necessary to the social interaction in which one must participate, particularly those roles with which one has become most deeply ego-involved. These roles may have emerged from trial-and-error or they may have been adopted by way of one's identification with an admired other. Roles adopted may be found already tailored and may be put on as a ready-made suit (such as the more familiar institutional roles of policeman, U. S. Army Officer, clergyman, judge, and physician whose expected behavior is clearly specified), or they may be personally tailored by one for his own individual use. In any case, once adopted, roles provide a mold for the deposit of current experience, on the one hand, and a ready vehicle for entering the parade, or drama, of social interaction, on the other.

CONCLUSIONS

Among the correlates of success in the profession listed above, about a half-dozen or so may be found to comprise independent variables around which others are clustered. For example, size of community of residence may represent an independent variable around which are clustered such factors as size of school, intercommunity residential mobility and, possibly, number of children parents had. On the other hand, this latter factor of number of children may also be related to what appears to be another independent variable, occupation of father. Clearly, some statistical device should be applied to the above correlates, such as multiple correlation, in an effort to interrelate what appear to be the more important variables. But the task of designing this project, of selecting the sample, of constructing the questionnaire, of securing the cooperation of respondents and, finally, of isolating the above correlates was so enormous that it was decided to postpone further analysis. Meanwhile, it was believed desirable to publish results so far, in the interest of suggesting to other potential investigators in this field what seems to be a fruitful methodological procedure for studying upward mobility within a single vocational group.

The present investigator believes that, after a large enough number of independent variables have been isolated for a given occupation, it may be possible to construct an aptitude test for that occupation, of sufficient validity and reliability to permit vocational counselors to advise high school and college students.

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THE FUNCTION AND MEANING OF WORK AND THE JOB

NANCY C. MORSE AND ROBERT S. WEISS *

University of Michigan †

WITH the increasing complexity and industrialization of society, work for many people has become more and more simply a means toward the end of earning a living. However, we are in danger of over-generalizing this trend and pushing it to its logical conclusion, expecting that working serves *only* a means function.¹ The present study of the meaning of work among a national sample of employed men indicates that for most men having a job serves other functions than the one of earning a living. In fact, even if they had enough money to support themselves, they would still want to work. Working gives them a feeling of being tied into the larger society, of having something to do, of having a purpose in life. These other functions which working serves are evidently not seen as available in non-work activities.

This finding that work has other meanings is consistent with observations of the effect of retirement and the effect of unemployment on men. If men work only for money, there is no way of explaining the degree of dislocation and deprivation which retirement, even on an adequate salary, appears to bring to the formerly employed. The particularly interesting results of this national sample study on the meaning of working are: (1) that working is more than a means to an end for the vast majority of employed men; (2) that a man does not

have to be at the age of retirement or be immediately threatened by unemployment to be able to imagine what not working would mean to him; and (3) that working serves other functions than an economic one for men in both middle class and working class occupations, but that the non-monetary functions served by working are somewhat different in these two broad classifications of occupations.

The method used to explore the function and meaning of work for employed men was a short "fixed question-free answer" interview of a random sample of employed men in the United States.² We shall report some of the results of the analysis of these interviews with the 401 men studied in the sample.³

GENERAL RESULTS

The conclusion that working is more than a means for economic support comes primarily from a question in the interview which was designed to remove hypothetically the economic function of working. The question asked the respondents was:

"If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would work anyway or not?"

² This exploratory study was made possible through cooperation with the Economic Behavior Program of the Survey Research Center. The short interview followed a longer interview for that program on consumers' expectations and plans and recent buying experience. The interviewing was done in September, 1953.

³ A description of the Survey Research Center sampling method will be found in *Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences*, L. Festinger and D. Katz, editors, New York: The Dryden Press, 1953, Chapter 5, "Selection of the Sample" by L. Kish, especially pp. 230-235. The general interviewing method used is described in Chapter 8 of the same volume, "The Collection of Data by Interviewing," by C. Cannell and R. Kahn.

*The authors are indebted to Dr. Daniel Katz and Dr. Robert Kahn for their helpful comments and suggestions on this paper, and wish to thank also Ruth Griggs who assisted the authors in the analysis. The research reported here forms part of a larger project supported by a grant from the Office of Naval Research, Contract No. N6onr-232. †Human Relations Program, Survey Research Center.

¹ The same type of over-generalization of a trend was found until recently in the writing on the family. Since the family was changing (and in some ways reducing) its functions, there was some tendency to go to the extreme and predict the dying out of the family altogether.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF INDIVIDUALS FOR WHOM WORKING SERVES NON-MONETARY FUNCTION

Question: "If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think you would work anyway or not?"		
	N	Per cent
Would keep working	314	80
Would not keep working	79	20
Total responding	393	100
Not ascertained	8	
Total sample	401	

The interviewer then followed this question with the probe:

"Why do you feel that you would work (not work)?"

Table 1 indicates that eighty per cent of the employed men answered that they would want to keep on working. It might have been expected that such a question would be considered quite unreal to the respondents. The quality of the responses, however, suggested that, while the question was not one for which they had a ready answer, it was one which they took seriously and could consider personally. Furthermore, the vividness and emotionality of their responses to this question indicated that we were tapping an area which was real and meaningful to them. It was almost as if they had never consciously thought about what working meant to them but now that they were presented with the imaginary removal of it, they could see for themselves and verbalize to another person the feelings which had really been there implicitly all the time.

When those who have stated that they would work anyway are asked for their reasons for feeling this way, they give quite a wide variety of answers. Approximately two-thirds of them give what we called positive reasons, that is, they talked of something positive about working (Table 2). The most common types of positive reasons were: working keeps one occupied, gives one an interest; working keeps an individual healthy, is good for a person; and the kind of work is enjoyable. A little more than a third of those who felt that they would want to continue working gave only what we called negative reasons, that is, they talked

TABLE 2. REASONS FOR CONTINUING WORKING

Question: "Why do you feel that you would work?"		
	Number	Per cent
Positive reasons		
Enjoy the kind of work	27	9
To be associated with people	4	1
To keep occupied (interested)	93	32
Justifies my existence	14	5
Gives feeling of self-respect	13	5
Keeps individually healthy, good for person	30	10
Other	4	1
Total positive reasons	185	63
Negative reasons		
Without work, would:		
Feel lost, go crazy	42	14
Feel useless	5	2
Feel bored	11	4
Not know what to do with my time, can't be idle	29	10
Habit, inertia	17	6
To keep out of trouble	3	1
Other	2	0
Total negative reasons	109	37
Total responding	294	100
Not ascertained	20	
Total would work	314	
Total would not work	79	
Not ascertained	8	
Total sample	401	

of some negative consequences of not working. Frequent negative reasons for continuing working were: "would feel lost if didn't work, would go crazy" and "wouldn't know what to do with my time, can't be idle." The fact that thirty-six per cent of the men who want to continue working give only negative reasons for working (Table 2) indicates that for many men working serves as a means of warding off the dangers of loneliness and isolation. The finding that as many as fourteen per cent of the total sample express fears of being lost or going crazy if they did not work lends support to the consideration of work as an important positive element in the emotional economy of many individuals because it serves to anchor the individual into the society.

We should, however, be cautious about inferring too much from the answers to this one question and probe. It does not mean that people cannot readjust to not working; rather it means that not working requires considerable readjustment. The typical em-

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employed man does not *at present* have alternative ways of directing his energy and internal resources and does not *at present* have alternative ways of gaining a sense of relationship to his society which are sufficiently important to take the place of working.

The relationship of age to desire to keep working suggests that the nearer the individual is to retirement age (65), the more likely that he will say that he would not work if he did not need to for economic reasons. However, as we can see from Table 3, even in the age group of fifty-five years

has does not influence strongly his feeling that he would want to keep working at *some* job even if he inherited enough money to live comfortable without working. While the men in the working class occupations are slightly less likely to want to keep working, over three-quarters of those who are foremen, in the crafts and trades, or who are factory operatives and semi-skilled, would keep on working. The only occupational group which deviates from this over-all pattern is the unskilled. Only slightly over fifty per cent of them would want to continue working.

TABLE 3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO KEEP WORKING AND AGE

Age Category	N	Percentage Who Would Want to Work	Percentage Who Would Not Want to Work	Total Percentage
21-34	106	90	10	100
35-44	123	83	17	100
45-54	79	72	28	100
55-64	46	61	39	100
65 or over	38	82	18	100
Total responding	392			
Not ascertained	9			
Total sample	401			

through sixty-four years almost two-thirds of the men would want to keep working.⁴ The change in feelings about working with age indicates that some of the older men are becoming adjusted to the idea of not working. The high percentage of men over 65 who say they would continue to work even if they did not have to should be discounted. Individuals over 65 frequently have an option regarding whether they continue to work, and our sample is one of employed men, only. It does not include those who stop work.

The kind of job which the individual now

The degree to which working becomes woven into the pattern of life of the employed man is also attested to by the results on job satisfaction. When asked the question: "Taking into consideration all the things about your job (work), how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with it?" eighty per cent of the employed men said they were either very satisfied or satisfied with their jobs. This finding suggests that most individuals accommodate themselves to their chances and possibilities in life and in general do not maintain, as conscious aspirations, chances and opportunities not within their scope to realize. However, for many individuals, commitment to working is much deeper than commitment to their particular job. This is attested to by the high frequency with which people answer that they would change jobs if they inherited enough money to live comfortably without working. Many individuals, including those who say they are satisfied with their jobs, would switch to another job if they could, but few would stop working.

⁴Friedmann and Havighurst, studying five occupational groups of men fifty-five or over, found one-third to two-thirds of the men in their occupational sample wanted to continue working past sixty-five. Eugene A. Friedmann and Robert J. Havighurst, *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 183. The approach and findings of this book parallel at many points those reported in this paper, although the present authors were not aware of the Friedmann, Havighurst research until after this study was completed.

Further evidence that working is serving non-economic functions is found in the kinds of answers the men who want to keep working give to the question: "Suppose you didn't work, what would you miss most?" Over two-fifths respond with a general feeling that they would lose something important to their well-being if they did not work. Almost a third point directly to the social aspects of working (Table 4).

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENCE

The data presented so far indicate that working serves non-economic functions for the vast majority of employed men. Does it serve different functions, however, for people in different occupations? A sample of 401 men is not large enough to specify in detail

TABLE 4. THINGS MISSED IF DID NOT WORK BY THOSE WHO WOULD WANT TO KEEP WORKING

Question: "Suppose you didn't work, what would you miss most?"

	Number	Per cent
General feeling		
Feeling of living, belonging, being part of something	6	3
Feeling of doing something important, worthwhile, feeling of self-respect	23	9
Feeling of interest, being interested	12	5
Feeling of doing something, would be restless	62	25
Total expressing general feeling	103	42
Specific things missed		
The kind of work I do	29	12
The people I know through or at work, the friends, contacts	77	31
Regular routine	16	6
Money	5	2
Other	2	1
Total mentioning specific things missed	129	52
Nothing missed	15	6
Total responding	247	100
Not ascertained	67	
Total would work	314	
Total would not work	79	
Not ascertained	8	
Total sample	401	

the particular functions of work for men in all the various specific occupations. We can, however, examine the meaning of working and the type of satisfactions gained from the job for certain broad classifications of occupations. The basic classification which we have used separates the occupations into two major categories and one "offset" category. The two major divisions which we shall use are (1) middle class occupations and (2) working class occupations. We have separated farming into a third category because of its unique features such as the fusion of work and non-work, the high degree of self-employment, the rural setting, and the like.

The middle class occupations differ from the working class ones on a variety of dimensions. There are substantial differences not only in terms of the characteristics of the people recruited to the jobs, but in terms of the content of the jobs themselves. The middle class occupations more frequently emphasize verbal and conceptual skills, while the working class occupations more frequently emphasize skilled use of the body. In addition, there are differences in object-relations. Thus a large segment of the middle class jobs involve dealing with people, while many of the working class jobs involve working with tools and machines. Thus while the primary classification of middle class and working class occupations may seem to stress differences in prestige and social status between the two sets of jobs, there is actually a whole pattern of differences, a complex of factors, which separates these two groups of occupations.

The types of occupations which we have considered middle class are: professional, managers employed by others, and sales. For professional and sales we have followed the Census classification,⁵ but we have excluded self-employed managers and proprietors from our managerial classification, despite their inclusion in the Census system.⁶ We have

⁵ The general occupational groupings used by the Census and the specific occupations listed under the various Census designations are to be found in the *Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries*, 1950 Census of Population, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1950.

⁶ While the managers employed by others clearly fall into the middle class occupational grouping, self-employed managers are a mixed group. The initial coding had been in terms of the Census classification and it would have been necessary to

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labeled the following occupations as working class: foremen, crafts and trades; machine-operators and semi-skilled; unskilled; and service. The occupations which we have not included in this analysis in addition to the self-employed managers are clerical and government service. These occupations appear to include some jobs which would be classified as working class and some which would be classified as middle class. Along with the farmers these two major classifications of middle class and working class with their sub-headings will form the basis of the occupational analysis.

The findings on the relationship between occupation and certain demographic characteristics for our sample are consistent with those reported by the Census. The men in middle class occupations are better educated, are more often white and Protestant and earn more money than those in the working class occupations. The largest contrasts occur between the "top" of the middle class occupations, the professions, and the "bottom" of the working class occupations, service.

Almost the entire group of farmers are self-employed, while nearly all of the other occupational groups are employed by others. The farmers are similar to those in working class jobs in terms of education and income, yet are even more likely to the Protestant than those in middle class jobs.⁷

These results confirm the idea that by grouping the occupations into middle class, working class, and farming, we have also grouped on a number of other variables. The broad occupational differences cannot, therefore, be interpreted as due to any single factor, but rather as due to a pattern of factors pertaining to the type of people, type of work, and type of situation or environment in which they live and work.

go back and recode the occupations. Thus while an owner of a realty company would be in a middle class occupation, the operator of a gasoline station or a restaurant worker who owns part of the business would be more appropriately classified in the working class occupations. The self-employed managers were therefore excluded, as were the other groups which would have required recoding, the clerical and government service workers.

⁷ The religious affiliation findings are probably the result of the pattern of immigration into this country. The non-Protestants (primarily Catholics) were in general later immigrants, when farm land was no longer so cheap nor as easily available.

FUNCTION OF WORKING AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

The occupational groupings differ much more on the type of function that working plays for them, than they do on the degree to which it serves other functions than the economic one. Many individuals in middle class occupations emphasize the interest to be found in their jobs, and the sense of accomplishment which comes from work well done. On the other hand, the typical individual in a working class occupation emphasizes the necessity for some directed activity which will occupy his time, his mind and his hands. These conclusions are based on answers given to the question, "Why would you continue working?" asked of those who said they would continue to work even if they inherited money (Table 5).

For many of those in the middle class occupations working means having something interesting to do, having a chance to accomplish things and to contribute. Those in working class occupations view working as virtually synonymous with activity, the alternative to which is to lie around and be bored or restless. For the farmers working is also activity, but the demarcation between work and other areas of life is less sharp than it is for the working class respondents. As a result many farmers, particularly older farmers, are almost unable to consider a way of life which does not include work.

These differences between the occupational groupings correspond to differences in the content of the middle class and working class jobs. The content of the professional, managerial and sales jobs concerns symbols and meanings. Furthermore, the middle class job imposes a responsibility for an outcome, for successful sales, successful operation of a department, or successful handling of a legal case. Thus a life without working to a man in a middle class occupation would be less purposeful, stimulating and challenging. The content of working class jobs on the other hand, concerns *activity*. Working class occupations emphasize work with tools, operation of machines, lifting, carrying, and the individual is probably oriented to the effort rather than the end. Therefore life without working becomes life without anything to do.

TABLE 5. REASONS FOR CONTINUING TO WORK BY OCCUPATION

	Number of Individuals Who Give as Reasons for Working:			Total
	Interest or Accomplishment	To Keep Occupied	Other	
Middle class				
Professional	13	8	3	24
Manager	6	5	4	15
Sales	6	8	4	18
Total middle class	25	21	11	57
Per cent	(44)	(37)	(19)	(100)
Working class				
Trades	6	44	15	65
Operatives	6	42	9	57
Unskilled	1	9	3	13
Service	1	7	1	9
Total working class	14	102	28	144
Per cent	(10)	(71)	(19)	(100)
Total farmers	6	22	6	34
Per cent	(18)	(64)	(18)	(100)
Total responding				235
Not ascertained				18
Total would work				253
Total would not work and not ascertained				73
Total sample				326*

Chi-square between classes = 31.77, significant at the .001 level. Chi-squares within middle and working classes are not significant.

* Clerical, self-employed managers, and government workers do not appear in this table.

Of course the meaning which work has for the individual is not only affected by the general type of work which he does, but is also determined by the type of person he is. To some extent, at least, there may be selection into occupations so that the person going into a middle class job has a different social background from one going into a working class job. The different functions of work may to some extent be attributed to different early learning and socialization of those entering different occupations. Perhaps both the nature of the job and the nature of the job-holders operate together to produce a similarity of orientation toward the place of work in life among people in the same general type of job.

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN JOB ATTITUDES

The major reason for working *at a particular job* may be monetary, even though the reasons for wanting to continue to work are not. The extent to which the job is im-

portant to the individual for other than monetary reasons is probably best indicated by his response to the question of whether he would continue in the same job if he no longer had to work to earn a living. If the employed man answered that he would want to keep working even if he inherited money, he was then asked: "Would you still keep on doing the same type of work you are doing now?" The answers to this question, presented in Table 6, indicate very clearly that the farming job and the middle class occupations, particularly the professional jobs, are much more important to their occupants than are the working class jobs to their occupants. More than two-thirds of the farmers and more than three-fifths of the men in the middle class occupations would want to continue in their present type of work even if they inherited enough money so that it was no longer necessary for them to work for a living.

From these results it seems clear that while men almost regardless of job are adjusted to the type of work they are doing, those

TABLE 6.

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TABLE 6. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK AND PER CENT WHO WOULD CONTINUE ON SAME JOB

	N	Per cent Who Would Work	Per cent Who Would Continue in Same Type of Work
Middle class			
Professional	28	86	68
Manager	22	82	55
Sales	22	91	59
Total middle class	72	86	61
Working class			
Trades	86	79	40
Operatives	80	78	32
Unskilled	27	58	16
Service	18	71	33
Total working class	211	76	34
Total farmers	43	86	69
Total would work	253		
Total would not work, not ascertained	73		
Total sample	326*		
Chi-squares between classes p less than		6.87 .05	29.22 .001
Chi-squares within middle class		.76	.79
		Not significant	Not significant
Chi-squares within working class p less than		8.74 .05	6.30 .10

* Clerical, self-employed managers, and government workers do not appear in this table.

who have the less interesting, less prestigious and less autonomous jobs would most like to change their jobs if the opportunity were provided. The most common type of job suggested as a replacement for their present work is going into business for themselves. Many of the men in the working class occupations said that they would like to go into business for themselves, although they often were not able to say what type of business they would want to go into. These answers seemed to indicate a desire for a more prestigious, freer job than the one they now had; one which would not, however, require additional formal education and training. The

way the man in the working class occupation thought about going into business for himself was consistent with his view of working as keeping occupied. There was no mention of obtaining a feeling of purpose or accomplishment from this imagined work. He carried over his already developed view of the meaning of work to this new imagined occupation.

We already mentioned that most people are satisfied with their present job. Table 7 shows that the men in the middle class occupations are more polarized in their answers to the question: "Taking into consideration all the things about your job (work), how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with it?" Those in the middle class occupations, particularly the managers, are more likely to give extreme answers. The explanation for this difference between the occupational groupings may lie partially in the greater importance of the content of the job to those in the middle class occupations and partially in the greater opportunity for personal satisfactions in the middle class jobs. Those in the middle class jobs, as a result, react more strongly either in a positive or negative way to the particular job. The man in a working class job, on the other hand, gets used to his job, adjusts himself to it, perhaps even resigns himself to it.

Perhaps the most interesting findings in this area of job satisfaction are those which indicate the degree to which people do adjust to the job conditions and opportunities which are available to them. People in different occupations do not vary as greatly in whether or not they are satisfied with their jobs as they do in their reasons for their satisfaction. The managers mention salary much more frequently than do the professional and sales people who stress the content of the job itself. The crafts and trades group respond positively to the kind of work they do, while the unskilled mention money, and those in service occupations tend to give as reasons for satisfaction the fact that it is the only type of job they could get and that they like the people they work with and meet. Each of the occupations shows quite a different pattern of satisfaction sources. The general conclusion from these results combined with those on present level of satisfaction would seem to be that most people adjust to the jobs which they have, and base

TABLE 7. PER CENT SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR JOBS BY OCCUPATION

	N	Percentages			Total
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Pro-con, Dissatisfied	
Middle class					
Professional	28	54	36	10	100
Managers	22	23	41	36	100
Sales	22	46	36	18	100
Total middle class	72	42	37	21	100
Working class					
Trades	84	32	57	11	100
Operatives	80	25	60	15	100
Unskilled	24	25	54	21	100
Service	16	19	50	31	100
Total working class	204	27	57	16	100
Total farmers	41	29	56	15	100
Total responding	317				
Not ascertained	9				
Total sample	326*				

Middle Class is significantly more "polarized" than the other groups. Chi-square = 9.87, p less than .05.

* Clerical, self-employed managers, and government workers do not appear in this table.

that adjustment on the particular attributes of the job and the job situation. There appears to be a tendency for the individual to react positively to his work situation and to emphasize the favorable aspects of it.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Using interviews with a national sample of employed men, we have studied the extent to which working serves non-economic functions for the total population and the differential meanings of work and the job for those in different occupations.

The results indicate that for most men working does not simply function as a means of earning a livelihood. Even if there were no economic necessity for them to work, most men would work anyway. It is through the producing role that most men tie into society, and for this reason and others, most men find the producing role important for maintaining their sense of well-being.

To the typical man in a middle class occupation, working means having a purpose, gaining a sense of accomplishment, expressing himself. He feels that not working would leave him aimless and without opportunities to contribute. To the typical man in a

working class occupation working means having something to do. He feels that not working would leave him no adequate outlet for physical activity; he would just be sitting or lying around. To the typical farmer, just as to the typical individual in a working class occupation, working means keeping busy, keeping occupied. But work has a much more pervasive importance for the farmer. The boundaries between work and home life are not as sharp for him, and life without work is apt to be difficult to consider. These results confirm what other studies, using other methods, have shown.

We are now going through a period of readjustment of our institutions to the shortening of the work day and week and to the early retirement of individuals from their jobs. The development of means by which individuals can gain the same feelings which they now obtain from work through substitute activities is one possible long-range solution. Another, perhaps, is the development of methods by which individuals might remain productive in their later years. In either case it would seem necessary that the occupation give the individual meaningful (in his own terms) and socially integrating activity.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE NATURE OF UNIONISM AMONG SALARIED PROFESSIONALS IN INDUSTRY *

BERNARD GOLDSTEIN

University of Chicago

DURING the past two decades, significant numbers of new kinds of workers have become involved in the American trade union movement. Labor unions have reached out to include not only the less-skilled clerical workers, but semi- or sub-professionals, such as nurses, teachers, social workers, librarians, and others, and technical professionals such as engineers, chemists, physicists, and designers. The extension of union organization to these new categories of employees has significance for the union movement, industry, and society at large, since it represents a fundamental shift in outlook and organization by large numbers of people. This paper will deal primarily with the technical professionals—engineers and scientists—as a case in point.

While the tremendous expansion of the white-collar segment of the American labor force, particularly since 1870, is widely recognized, many of its implications remain unexplored.¹ Some social scientists have been concerned with the impact of this growth on the class structure of American society. Another consequence, and one very often overlooked, has been the growth of trade unions among white-collar employees. As

the industrial process has evolved, the role of the salaried employee and the nature of white-collar work have undergone equally dramatic change of such a nature as to make the salaried employee somewhat more amenable to unionization. The expansion in the number of white-collar employees, as well as the decline in the rate of manual worker organization in recent years, have, in turn, helped direct the attention of the union movement to this potential source of new members.

Though efforts to organize unions among white-collar employees can be traced as far back as the post-Civil War period, it was not until after World War I that they became significant. According to Wolman, in 1920, professional service was 5.4 per cent organized; clerical occupations, 8.3 per cent; domestic and personal service, 3.8 per cent; and public service, 7.3 per cent. On the other hand, "While the percentage of total employees who are members of unions is, roughly, 20, all of the important manual groups stood far above this level. . . ." ² In 1935, there were probably 500,000 white-collar employees organized. AF of L unions operating in the white-collar field claimed about 400,000 members, the remainder being accredited to unaffiliated unions. By the time the United States entered World War II, white-collar trade union membership had grown to about 1.4 million.³

On the basis of available data, an estimate of 2.75 million has been made for current white-collar union membership.⁴ Of these, 1.5 million are in the AF of L; 0.6 million in the CIO; and 0.65 million in independent or unaffiliated unions. Though this total figure is significant, white-collar employees

* Expanded version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1954, and is based on work done as part of a study of white-collar unionism by the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago, under the direction of Professor R. K. Burns, and the supervision of Dr. J. Tabb, as well as interviews conducted in preparation of a doctoral dissertation.

¹ In 1870, 5.7 per cent of the gainfully employed fell within the categories of clerical, professional, and sales. In 1950, the equivalent white-collar categories represented 27.3 per cent of the labor force. During this period the labor force increased some three and one half times in size, while the white-collar component increased some 20 times. For a detailed discussion of this growth, as well as the statistics used to describe it, see Chapter III of the forthcoming volume, *The Salaried Employee and Unionism*, by R. K. Burns and J. Tabb.

² Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions 1880-1923*, New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1924, p. 86.

³ Burns and Tabb, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII.

⁴ *Ibid.*

are only approximately 17 per cent organized, while by contrast, manual workers are about 52 per cent organized.

CHARACTERISTICS OF UNIONS AMONG PROFESSIONALS

The central hypothesis here is that salaried professionals, because of their educational background, their occupational culture, and their position within the firm, have produced a form of trade unionism that differs significantly from traditional trade unionism. This hypothesis will be examined in the light of the relationships between the following: (1) salaried professionals and management; (2) salaried professionals and the union; (3) the professional union and management; and (4) the professional union and the labor movement.

Salaried Professionals and Management. The relationship between the salaried professionals and management is the basic one, the one that determines whether or not there is to be union organization. The shift of technical professionals—engineers, chemists, scientists, and others—into industry and salaried employment has occurred during the past 50 years. Coming to the industrial culture with codes of ethics derived from a totally different set of circumstances—independent practice—the professionals have been involved in a process of assimilation. Normally difficult, the process has been made more so by the fact that the very nature of professional work itself has been undergoing tremendous change at the same time. Thus, many problems and points of conflict have developed, only some of which can be touched upon here.

To begin with, the relations between salaried professionals and management are disturbed by the conditions of professional work in industry. According to the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, the term "professional employee" means:

(a) Any employee engaged in work (i) predominantly intellectual and varied in character as opposed to routine mental, manual, mechanical or physical work; (ii) involving the consistent exercise of discretion and judgment in its performance; (iii) of such a character that the output produced or the result accomplished cannot be standardized in relation to a given period of time; (iv) re-

quiring knowledge of an advanced type in a field of science or learning customarily acquired by a prolonged course of specialized intellectual instruction and study in an institution of higher learning or a hospital, as distinguished from a general academic education or from an apprenticeship or from training in the performance of routine mental, manual, or physical processes; or

(b) Any employee, who (i) has completed the courses of specialized intellectual instruction and study described in clause (iv) or paragraph (a), and (ii) is performing related work under the supervision of a professional person to qualify himself to become a professional employee as defined in paragraph (a)⁵

In practice, however, this definition applies to but a small minority of those classified as salaried professionals in industry—mainly research scientists. As the employment of technical professionals has become more intensive, management has begun to apply the principles of rationalization and division of labor to "intellectual" work. More and more of engineering and product development work is being "standardized in relation to a given period of time." At the same time, the efforts of management to separate out the less skilled tasks and hand them to nonprofessional technicians is viewed by professionals as a threat both to their job security and salary structure. A further consequence of the large-scale employment of professionals in industry is that it becomes necessary for management to deal with them as but another part of the labor force—precisely what the professional is seeking to avoid.

According to the able analysis of Fritz Croner, "The explanation of the separate social status of salaried employees lies in the fact that their duties were once performed by the employer." Croner calls this explanation the "theory of delegated responsibility."⁶ At the point in time when the employer began delegating this responsibility—first to members of his own family, then to outsiders of the proper social background—it was expected that these assistants or associates would one day themselves be

⁵ 61 Stat. 141 (1947), Sec. 2 (12).

⁶ Fritz Croner, "Salaried Employees in Modern Industry," *International Labor Review*, 44 (February, 1954), p. 106.

employers. Many engineers still think in these terms, and some attain employer status. But, for the vast majority, especially those in large firms, the chances of such movement are slim.⁷ Furthermore, the chances of movement upward into the higher ranks of management in a large firm, though greater, are likewise slim. Engineers are beginning to recognize this to some extent, and are disturbed. This mood is deepened by the further recognition that their work has become so specialized, that over a period of years they may well lose the capacity to do work "involving the consistent exercise of discretion and judgment."

Other problems disturb the relationship between salaried professionals and management. There is, for example, the question of the employee's self conception as a professional. As a student, he is impressed with the importance of the engineer in modern society. Moving into industry, he finds he has little control over the kind of work he does, and that the significance of his work is lost as a result of the "scientific" division of labor. Other problems exist for the research engineer or scientist. The desire for recognition from colleagues, which traditionally involves publication, may be blocked by the employer's need to maintain a degree of secrecy over what is being done, because of national security or for the sake of competitive advantage. The traditional industrial pattern of recognition—promotion and salary increases—also has certain drawbacks for the salaried professional. Promotion into an administrative position will be an unsatisfactory reward if the man is not a good administrator, or if he has no desire to do administrative work. Also, while "rank-and-file" professionals can obtain salary increases while in nonsupervisory positions, the big money lies in administrative work. This creates a frustrating situation for the man who would like to continue to do the work he knows and enjoys, but who also desires professional and financial recognition.

The factors tending to produce friction

between professional employees and management are usually more than balanced by the basically pro-management orientation of the professional. He tends to accept the prevailing beliefs in individualism and free enterprise, conceives of his work as part of the managerial function, and may even envision himself in a management position at the end of his career line. But doubt and dissatisfaction exist.

Salaried Professionals and their Unions.

The growth of unions among salaried professionals must be viewed against the paradox of attitudes quite inconsistent with such a development: a generally pro-management orientation, even in the face of specific grievances, and a generally anti-union orientation, even in the face of grudging admiration for "all they've done for the production workers." The fact that management has often passed on increases won by the production workers to the professional staff results in some professionals hoping for union victories while objecting to unions in principle.

Traditionally, professionals have turned to their professional society for the protection of their interests. But these societies developed to meet the needs and further the interests of independent professionals. This became quite clear during the depression of the 1930's. In the midst of severe unemployment, salary cuts, and demotions, the problem of job security became pressing for salaried professionals. Some of the societies when appealed to maintained their traditional aloofness from any discussion of issues such as salaries and conditions of employment. Others, jolted into a realization of the seriousness of the situation, established committees to look into possible solutions. The American Society of Civil Engineers went so far as to advise its chapters to establish committees on economic conditions, and eventually hired field representatives to aid the chapters in dealing with economic problems.

But the professional societies were seriously handicapped in even such elementary efforts to aid salaried professionals. In most cases, management was well represented among those groups that determined policy in the societies, and the societies were un-

⁷ Less than 5 per cent of technical professionals are self-employed. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, U. S. Summary, Chapter C, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953, Table 128.

able to do much beyond suggest and advise.⁸ When they appealed to the employers of professionals to establish salary scales in keeping with the traditions of professional status, the appeal was ignored. Employers who by training were professionals, dealt with their employee-professionals within the employer-employee frame of reference. The bonds of professionalism did not exert as strong an influence as did the exigencies of the business situation.

An obvious alternative to the ineffective professional society was close at hand in the form of the trade union. But there were serious barriers to the acceptance of this alternative. For one thing, professional employees identified themselves with members of their own profession and, as has been suggested, with management, rather than with industrial workers. Also, their conception of unionism made it repugnant to them. In their view, unions employed coercion and appealed for support on an emotional rather than rational basis. But more important, the trade union creed stressed collective effort as a means of attaining individual wants, and advocated reward and promotion based first on seniority, then on skill. These ran counter to important elements of the professional creed. In addition, among those professionals who were willing to admit the need for group action, there was the widespread feeling that the trade union movement was totally incapable of understanding the point of view of professional employees and their problems.

The AF of L chartered a union for technical professionals during World War I, and the CIO established another during the late 1930's. But it was not until World War II that the union movement made itself felt in

this field. On many occasions, CIO industrial unions succeeded in having salaried professionals placed in one bargaining unit with production workers of the same firm. Since the production workers constituted a majority in most elections, the professionals felt their fate was in alien and unsympathetic hands.

In 1942, however, the National Labor Relations Board decided that professionals could not be included in a heterogeneous bargaining unit unless a majority of them expressed their desire to be so included. This ruling served to prevent professionals from being swallowed by the AF of L or the CIO, but it did not discourage the union movement from trying to organize professional employees. Still seeking some means of remaining free of the labor movement, many groups of professionals concluded that the only effective alternative was an indigenous organization, capable of being certified as a collective bargaining representative by the NLRB.⁹

In 1954, there were more than 25 of these unaffiliated groups representing some 40,000 engineers and scientists. In the large majority of instances for which we have data, these organizations began as escape devices, a convenient means for professionals to remain outside the AF of L and CIO. Some of the unions died as soon as the outside threat was removed. Others remained sounding-board organizations—little more than discussion forums—merely going through the motions of collective bargaining. But a large number of them, under the pressure of lagging salaries, poor personnel policies, and

⁸ For examples of positions taken by professional societies, see: Special Committee on Unionization of the Engineering Profession, ASCE, "Special Committee on Unionization Reports," *Civil Engineering*, 8 (March, 1938), pp. 216-17; ASCE Committee on Employment Conditions, "Collective Bargaining—A Historical Review," *Civil Engineering*, 14 (July, 1944), pp. 311-14; Charles L. Parsons, "Employer-Employee Relationships for Professional Chemists, as Recommended by the Board of Directors, ASC," *Chemical and Engineering News*, 19 (September 25, 1941), pp. 1014-15; American Institute of Electrical Engineers Committee on Collective Bargaining and Related Matters, "AIEE Report on Collective Bargaining," *Electrical Engineering*, 64 (July, 1945), pp. 239-45.

⁹ The antagonism of professional engineers to the AF of L and the CIO, and their activities in this regard, are well documented: William N. Carey, "Collective Bargaining by Engineers in Los Angeles, California," *Civil Engineering*, 16 (March, 1946), pp. 130-31; "Correspondence and Other Data Concerning Organizing Attempts at Shell Development Corporation, Emeryville, California," *Chemical and Engineering News*, 19 (July 10, 1941), pp. 733-36; Murlan S. Corrington, "How One Group of Engineers Avoided a National Union," *Civil Engineering*, 16 (June, 1946), pp. 282-83; "Engineers Protest Affiliation with Sub-Professionals; Professional Group Intervenes in WLB Case," *Civil Engineering*, 13 (July, 1943), pp. 337-38; Herbert R. Northrup, *Unionization of Professional Engineers and Chemists*, New York: Industrial Relations Counsellors, Inc., Industrial Relations Monograph No. 12, 1946.

¹⁰ Most membership education fined the bargaining man, so done by profession.
¹¹ This profession varying p S. P. Cap Unions," 1947), pp. gaining: I Chemical gust, 1944 Survey

other grievances, and in the face of competition from other unions in the field, have become effective collective bargaining agencies.

The forces largely responsible for the peculiar historical development of these organizations have left their mark. The unaffiliated unions of salaried professionals differ in their structure from traditional unions in that for the most part they are single-plant organizations, or in the case of companies with more than one plant, loosely tied branches of one organization. We have found only two cases of company-wide bargaining among firms that have more than one plant. In 1953, a number of the unaffiliated unions formed the Engineers and Scientists of America, as an independent federation of properly certified collective bargaining organizations. The ESA, as an extremely loose federation of highly autonomous local unions, reflects the desire of most salaried professionals for a form of organization that will permit the local solution of all problems. In order that each union may set its own membership requirements,¹⁰ the unions rather than their members, are affiliated with the ESA. The tremendous emphasis on local autonomy and on unions as voluntary associations is further reflected in the limited organizing power accorded the national organization. Its role is primarily an advisory one.

The policies and practices of the unions take into account the real and continued controversy among professionals concerning whether unionism is compatible with professional status.¹¹ The existence of unions of

professionals should not be taken to imply that some proportion of salaried professionals has become proletarianized. Rather, they expect their unions to take on many of the functions of a professional society. Thus, many contracts provide for leave of absence, sometimes with pay, more often without pay, for attendance at professional meetings. Often the employer is required by the union contract to pay the dues for membership in a professional society of the employee's choice. In addition, contracts often provide for partial payment of course fees, if the employee can demonstrate that such education will aid him in his work.

The fact that the constituents of these organizations are professionals as well as employees is clearly reflected in their policies.¹² First of all, in salary matters, the usual practice is to bargain for minimum salaries, leaving room in each job classification for merit increases. This contrasts clearly with the widespread union practice of fixing hourly and piece-rates so that management has no leeway for merit increases. On the other hand, some contracts provide that if a professional employee does not receive a merit increase in two successive periods (or some stated period of time), he may make use of the grievance procedure to question this managerial decision. Thus, the principle of reward on the basis of individual merit is maintained, but is hedged with protection for the right of the individual to appeal management decisions through a process created by collective action.

Second, the principle of seniority is given little weight as the basis for salary increases, promotions or lay-offs. The professional value of individual worth takes precedence over the trade union principles of rewarding long service and reliance on objective criteria as

¹⁰ Most of these unions would like to restrict membership to professionals, defined in terms of education or equivalent experience. Congress defined the status otherwise; the NLRB determines bargaining units on the basis of the job, not the man, so that jobs of a professional nature, being done by non-professionals, may be included in a professional unit.

¹¹ This conflict, which recurs in all salaried professions, cannot be dealt with here. Examples of varying positions in the controversy are available: S. P. Capen, "The Teaching Profession and Labor Unions," *Journal of General Education*, 1 (July, 1947), pp. 275-76; Z. G. Deutsch, "Collective Bargaining: Does it Conflict with Engineering Ethics?" *Chemical and Metallurgical Engineering*, 51 (August, 1944), pp. 96-99; "Security in Social Work," *Survey Monthly*, 74 (August, 1938), pp.

259-60; Shirley Titus, "Economic Facts of Life for Nurses," *American Journal of Nursing*, 52 (September, 1952), pp. 1109-12.

¹² A "Statement of Policy" in the June, 1954 edition of the *Council Compass* (Council of Western Electric Technical Employees), contains the following: "We accept and practice the Code of Ethics of the Engineering Profession as outlined by the Engineers' Joint Council and adopted by the Board of Directors of the National Society of Professional Engineers, October 26, 1946. We endeavor to instill in engineers an awareness of their responsibility and a feeling of professional pride in their work." (P. 7.)

a means of avoiding favoritism. Some engineering groups do argue that at any given level of a job hierarchy people have about the same skill and, therefore, there is room for the application of the seniority principle. In most cases, however, contracts specify that merit is to take precedence over seniority as the basis for rewards.

In their struggle to keep from being engulfed by production unions, salaried professionals relied heavily on the appeal to a "freedom to work." Therefore, they tend to stress the voluntary character of the unions they have fashioned. It is customary to reject such measures as the closed shop (when it was legal), the union shop, and even provisions for maintenance of membership, used by the traditional unions as means of union security. Almost all contracts provide for dues deduction. But even before there was legislation to that effect, these unions insisted that the signing of dues deduction cards be a voluntary matter. The practical question of financing union activities has become pressing for many of these organizations, but because they have long pictured the average trade union leader as being "interested only in collecting dues," they are forced to keep dues at a level lower than those of the traditional unions.

Finally, there are some aspects of the work of the professional engineer or scientist that create special collective bargaining issues. Take, for example, the question of patent rights. Standard practice in this country has been that, as a condition of employment, professionals sign over to their employer, patent rights to all inventions and processes they might develop, in return for a nominal sum. Through their unions, the professionals have succeeded at times in liberalizing patent provisions. Some firms now provide professional employees a share in any royalties resulting from the exploitation of their inventions; others return all rights to the employee if the firm does not develop the idea within a stated period of time.

The Professional Union and Management. The tone and character of the relations between a union of professionals and management is set in large part by the extent to which the union, as an institution, embodies the professional values of its members. The stronger the adherence to the professional

component of the status as salaried employee, the greater the reluctance to see personnel policies and conditions of employment as grievances. In contract negotiations, the emphasis is on "acting like gentlemen" instead of "pounding the table," in "placing the plain facts before management" rather than relying on "emotion." On the question of strikes, though there have been militant exceptions, there is a tendency to calculate to a nicety how much each day's loss of work would cost the employee, and to argue from this that strikes are a costly and inefficient means for producing the desired ends. While the concern over dollars and cents is real enough, it also serves to mask the feeling that it would be undignified and unprofessional to go on strike.

In discussions of union-management relations, the emphasis is on educating management to see the value of its engineering staff, to understand that better treatment will result in better work. The general strategy appears to be one of winning management over by reason, over a period of years, to the point where the engineer will be accorded the prestige and financial reward to which he feels he is entitled. Some observers are bound to suggest that this strategy is typical of weak or company unions. It seems more relevant, however, to see the orientation of the union as arising legitimately from the values of its members, than to pass judgment on the lack of militancy of certain kinds of people.

Professional Unions and the Labor Movement. Several factors are important in understanding the relationship between unions of professionals and the labor movement. The existence of union rivalry plays but a small part. The ESA has made no attempt to raid existing locals of professional and technical workers and, as a matter of fact, exercises little initiative in organizing new unions. On the other hand, salaried professionals, organized or not, generally continue to manifest feelings of hostility towards the labor movement. Since most unions of professionals came into existence as the result of actual or potential organizing drives by the AF of L or CIO,¹³ and since most

¹³ Based on correspondence with all unaffiliated unions of professionals known to be in existence in June, 1952.

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salaried professionals continue to distrust these unions, it is not surprising that the unaffiliated unions constantly remind their members of the "terrible" alternative that awaits them if they forego their "professional" union.

But there is another aspect to this relationship. In most instances, professional workers do not have a strong bargaining position in relation to their employers. While it would appear that they—like highly skilled craftsmen—are in a position effectively to shut down the firm, there is a crucial difference. Except in relatively large firms where significant numbers of professionals are closely tied to the production process, their work can be put aside for weeks or months with little or no effect on production.¹⁴ To be effective, a strike of engineers would seem to require that production workers respect the picket lines, and this will not occur where there is antagonism between the unions.¹⁵ Furthermore, policy concerning a matter like pension funds, for example, may hold for all categories of employees. Therefore, the union of professional employees, if it wishes to effect changes in this area, may find it expedient to cooperate with the union of production workers, if such exists. Thus, while they struggle to remain sufficiently distant from the production workers and their unions to emphasize and reinforce their status conceptions, the professionals and their unions may be forced by the pressure of circumstances to make common cause with them.

¹⁴ A strike of the Engineers Association of Arma (New York) in 1951 was won because the test engineers, who had to test all products before they were shipped to the armed forces, were union members. Thus the company could not ship any of its production. In effect, only a small group of engineers were really essential to ongoing production.

¹⁵ For a description of such cooperation, which occurred during a 1953 strike, see: "The Arma Story," *ESA News Digest*, 1 (September, 1953), p. 1.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The trade union movement is intimately tied to the struggle by working people for economic, political, and social rights. It has a rich lore—books and songs, heroic leaders, staunch picket lines, bloody strikes and massacres. But the unions of salaried professionals that have come into being in the past decade have no tie to this tradition. They accept from the union movement those tools and techniques that seem compatible with their professional code, and refer to themselves as guilds, or associations, or societies. They bargain collectively, have even conducted a few militant and effective strikes, but they think of themselves as something other than unions, in the traditional sense.

Most traditional trade unionists look unkindly upon these unions, maintaining that they represent company unionism, in spirit if not in fact. However, they may be viewed from another, possibly more objective, perspective. Salaried professionals in their unions have sought to combine those professional aims that remain meaningful in an industrial society with compatible techniques of collective bargaining. If these organizations continue to grow, at least two possibilities confront them. It may be that the unaffiliated unions are merely going through a formative period, and the pressure of employer-employee relations, as well as management-union relations, will inevitably force them to shed the remnants of their professional outlook, and push them into the mould of the existing labor movement. Or they may represent a new development, a merger of elements of the professional society with those of the labor union. If the latter is the case, then these unions may serve as the core for a new union "center" in the European sense, a federation of salaried employees, separate and distinct from the unions of production workers and skilled craftsmen.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN TERMS OF A SERIES OF SELECTED VARIABLES *

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THE study presented in this paper takes its point of departure from the working hypothesis that institutional and cultural change can be empirically observed through the growth of a number of selected variables. In his writings F. Stuart Chapin has demonstrated the possibility of studying the successive values of certain strategic institutional variables over a period of time and establishing the "law of change" by the well-known statistical method of fitting a logistic curve to the time series.¹ Chapin has linked this time series analysis to one type of broad generalization on the cultural and social change in the social group which he calls the "cycle of the social process" or the "societal reaction pattern."

An attempt will be made in this paper to summarize some of the findings made in an empirical investigation of a number of quantitative variables related to the organizational growth of ten voluntary associations.² Theoretical considerations suggest that these variables are important in understanding the processes of organizational

growth and formalization³ which constitute the topic of this paper.

In the course of conducting the field work,⁴ three sources of information were used: (1) the financial statements of the associations; (2) the membership lists and statistics; (3) service statistics mostly compiled by the administrative staffs on the volume of service activities discharged.

The variables subjected to time series analysis were: (1) total annual income; (2) total annual expenditures; (3) value of the property from year to year; (4) annual membership figures; and (5) the number of

³ The process of formalization is defined as a sequential, stage-by-stage development of organizational activity over time; a *standardization* of social relationships and finally as an increasing bureaucratization of the organization. However, formalization can be defined operationally in terms of the changes discernible in the organizational variables over a period of time. This becomes implicit in the following discussion.

⁴ The organizational histories of these associations were constructed from the documentary material taken from the files of the organization, i.e., minutes of board and committee meetings, pamphlets, publications, constitutions and by-laws, annual reports, letters and verbatim interviews with active key persons past and present. In gathering the data for these case histories an attempt was made to record as completely as possible all the successive changes in the manifest social structure of the association, such as formal membership criteria, specific functional positions of officers, the changes in board and committee structure, the changes in the administrative office procedure, the increases in physical property, personnel policies, size of paid regular staff workers, and the like. A consistent attempt was made to describe the life histories of the associations step by step in a temporal sequence. These ten associations were selected under the following conditions: (1) the officers of the association had to give approval to the research worker to have full access to all the records of the association; (2) the association had to have, for the purpose of this study, a fairly rich amount of documentary material; and (3) all ten belonged to a larger sample of voluntary associations (see footnote 6).

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1954.

¹ F. Stuart Chapin, *Cultural Change*, New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1928, Chapters 11 and 12; and *Contemporary American Institutions*, New York: Harper, 1935, pp. 58-59 and pp. 296-299; see also S. A. Rice (Ed.), *Methods in Social Science*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 307-352. Contributions have also been made to this general area by Hornell Hart and W. F. Ogburn.

² The study was based on ten case histories which were written by the present author for the purpose, and as a part of, an intensive and extensive study of the formalization process in small groups. These ten associations were: The Minneapolis League of Women Voters; The Ancient Order of United Workmen of Minnesota; Minnesota Council of Churches; Minnesota Nurses' Association; Alano Society of Minneapolis; Minnesota Association of Cooperatives; Lutheran Welfare Society; Minnesota Division American Cancer Society; Hennepin County League of Planned Parenthood; and The International Institute.

administrative employees from year to year.

It was seen in the case histories that the initial acquisition of property takes place when an association furnishes a meeting place for the membership and provides equipment to facilitate the discharge of administrative tasks. As the membership increases, a larger home is required by the association; more furniture is needed; real estate becomes desirable. Simultaneously, the growth of the membership group is accompanied by an increase in the volume of administrative tasks and expenditures; more office equipment is needed, especially after the first administrative worker has been hired.⁵

Figure 1 is a graphic and composite representation of the relationship of these organizational variables, summarizing our findings.⁶ The key points of the findings are formulated here as tentative generalizations. As can be seen from the graph there is a definite functional relationship between the growth in membership of an association and other variables such as income, administrative expenditures, property and staff workers; that is, when one of these variables is modified in time the other undergoes a corresponding modification. However, certain qualifications must be made in terms of a general growth pattern of the organizational development: (1) The membership growth precedes the growth of income. Even though we find a positive relationship between the increase of membership and growth of income this relationship does not seem to be continuous. With a decline of the membership in an organization there is no immediate or actual decline in income. (2) There is a positive relationship between the growth in total income of an organiza-

tion and its administrative expenditures. However, the administrative expenditures have a much lower rate of growth than income. It can be noted then that the administrative expenditures increase rapidly after the peak of total income has been passed.

(3) Property and administrative office workers continue to accumulate while membership and total income begin to shrink. However, property increases more rapidly in periods of rapid rise in income. We find also a close correspondence between the growth of administrative expenditures and increases in the property of the association.

In general, the above findings demonstrate that there is a certain tendency for the process of formalization to continue in the period when the social group contracts. Evidence shows⁷ that in this period of a contracting membership, the administrative staff expenditures, staff workers, and property, rise cyclically. The association which in the past has learned to cope effectively with its many problems by formalization and rationalization of its structure, attempts to survive by continuing the process of formalization.

The question arises as to why there is a functional relationship between the growth of membership, income, administrative expenditures, property, and staff workers. Why do voluntary associations have a tendency to increase their membership to a certain point and then reach a point of maximum growth? Furthermore, why does membership decline after a period of time? Why is it that with a decline in membership there is no immediate or actual decline in income, and, finally, why do property, administrative expenditures and office workers continue to accumulate while membership and total income begin to shrink? Before attempting to answer any of these questions we must clearly have in mind that the material presented above represents only an empirical study of a small selected group of voluntary associations and that the generalizations and interpretations might not fully conform to a more representative sample. It was attempted here merely to explore and

⁵ F. Stuart Chapin, "The Growth of Bureaucracy: An Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (December, 1951), pp. 835-836.

⁶ The observations and interpretations made in this paper seem to be corroborated by a more inclusive and representative sample of voluntary associations which have been treated statistically by this author. A random sample was drawn from a list of 535 voluntary associations. The sample consisted of 119 associations, 91 of which responded to the request for interviews. The president and executive secretary of each association were interviewed with a schedule. For detailed statistical analysis see "Formalization Process of Voluntary Associations" Ph.D. thesis 1953 (University of Minnesota Library).

⁷ Note: These generalizations apply only to the ten case histories studied; this paper may be suggestive of an analytical approach to a method of studying the changing structure of a group.

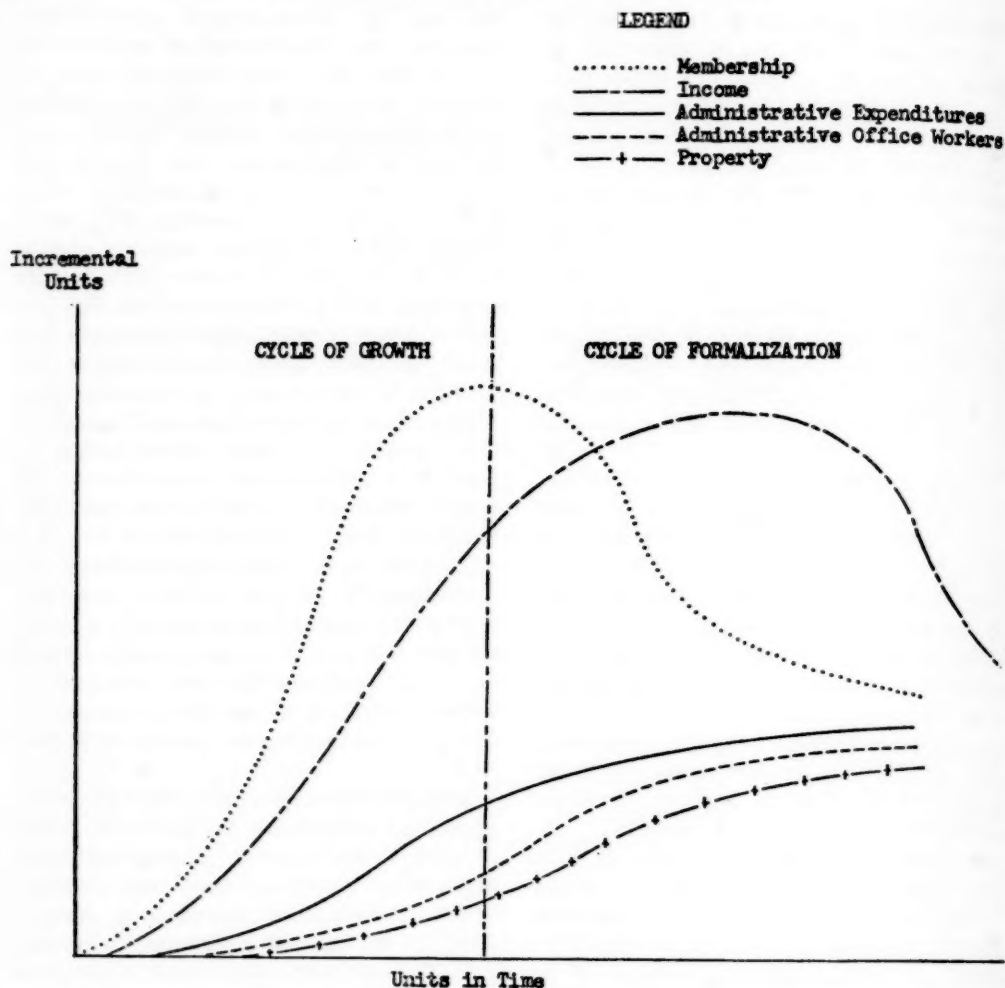


FIGURE 1. Graphic Representation of the Relationship of Certain Organizational Variables.

suggest a possible method of observation, and, in addition, to present a set of hypotheses which would guide and offer some insight for further research in this field.

In general, then, the above can be conceived as an *ideal type construct* for use as a comparative guide in research on the manifest structural differentiation of small groups. With these limitations in mind let us try to answer these questions in a series of interrelated and tentative propositions:

(1) The number of members and the continued growth of the membership group are the result of both the success of an association in coping with the internal functional problems posed by an expanding membership and the total adjustment or adaptation of an association as a functioning organiza-

tional unit to its social environment (including success in the enlistment of new members from this environment).

(2) The less specialized and segmental the role the members play in the association, the more pronounced is the tendency to regard participation in the association as an end in itself. This leads to a greater solidarity of the group and lessens the possibility of a decline in membership. The more specialized the role each member plays in the association, the more pronounced will be his tendency to regard participation as the means to an end. The loyalty of the members to their association can be stabilized when participation is regarded not merely as a means to the attainment of specified ends, but as the preservation of

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the association as an end in its own right. It is then to the advantage of the association to encourage primary group relations in the membership. However, a qualifying statement should be made here. We must not overlook on the other hand the stabilizing effect of the specialization and formalization of roles within an organization. That is to say, when the functional position or roles as such are abstracted from concrete persons and codified and defined by symbols, the organization acquires in general greater stability and flexibility than when it is under the personal authority of one or more charismatic leaders. However, the problem of formalization versus lack of it is this: the members most affected by the specialization and formalization of roles are those "who run the show," i.e., are actively engaged as leaders of the organization, and they are less likely to withdraw their membership. The greatest turnover of the membership is observed in the passive membership *after formalization*, whose roles have been the least specialized. The passivity of this non-specialized group might be due to the disparity that exists between it and the highly formalized segment of the association. Thus, a balance between sociability and formalization must be attained to prevent the disintegration of the association.

(3) Certain associations may serve very specific interests and it is precisely for this reason that their appeal is limited to certain types of individuals. This imposes a maximum size on any one organization in any given area.

(4) With the increasing need of a service rendered by a voluntary association there is a corresponding increase of membership, and with the fulfillment or partial fulfillment of such a service there is a corresponding decrease in membership.

(5) With an increased membership, however, there is a corresponding increase in the heterogeneity of the group in terms of sentiments, interests, dedication to the "cause," etc., and a corresponding decline in a feeling of intimacy and frequency of interaction. More specifically, there is a decline of membership in meetings and volunteer work. As a consequence, the membership becomes extremely passive and increasingly removed from the leadership of the association. As the membership expands, the group

as a whole is likely to lose its primary character. This is not to say, however, that the primary group disappears; certain clusters of individuals are found to interact with one another more frequently than they do with the rest of the membership. Sub-groups appear which retain the primary character previously extending over the entire membership. These sub-group clusters are integrated into the manifest social structure and the membership is organized in membership units. At the same time the need for control arises out of the fact that some of these membership units tend to become relatively autonomous from the rest of the organization. In varying degrees loyalty of the members is diverted from the association to the membership units so that the basis for a conflict with the organization has been laid.

(6) The loss of membership in the organization might be due then to several reasons, such as: increased secondary contacts, competing associations with similar functions, conflict within the association resulting from the heterogeneity of the group members, ineffectiveness of intracommunication, a decrease of the material or symbolic incentives offered by the association, a relative decrease in the need of a function or functions rendered by the association to its members or to the community and the extent to which the association is able to coordinate its formal and informal relationships.

(7) There is evidence that the formalization and contraction of the social group constitute a "vicious circle." In order to cope with its financial problems and declining membership, the association streamlines its structure and procedures according to modern organizational principles by introducing higher membership dues, professional help, and other means. These new organizational features alienate portions of the membership which had joined the association at an earlier and more informal stage, and lead to secession *en masse*. This mass separation creates even greater problems with which the association attempts to cope by formalizing its organization even more.

(8) With a declining membership, efforts are made to control the drop by introducing new incentives, added services, professional and administrative staff in order to discharge and supervise such services. Special communicative devices appear with the declining

frequency of face-to-face interaction, preceded by the increasing structural differentiation and the separation of various functional activities. Furthermore, the association is confronted with the problem of enforcing the pertinent features of its program through a relatively expensive outlay. Thus with an increase of controls there is a corresponding increase of staff and administrative expenditures. This phenomenon of increased controls, efforts to improve communication, and the use of additional professional help can be found emerging not only when the membership declines, but also when the membership increases at a rapid rate.

(9) Increase of expenditures can also be

explained in terms of increased capital outlay to improve facilities in order to maintain organizational prestige.

(10) With a decline in the membership of an organization, there is no immediate or actual decline in income. This phenomenon is due primarily to the greater efficiency of the organization in collecting dues and carrying out financial drives.

(11) Material property will increase over a period of time, and this increase is closely related to the expenditures for staff and upkeep. Unless the material property is withdrawn from use or permitted to deteriorate, these service expenditures cannot be reduced below a certain level.

A METHODOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SEGREGATION INDEXES *

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THERE have been proposed in the literature several alternative indexes of the degree of residential segregation of the nonwhite population of a city.¹ This paper shows that all of these can be regarded as functions of a single geometrical construct, the "segregation curve." From this there are developed several important implications:

(1) The proposed indexes of segregation have a number of hitherto unnoticed interrelationships which can be mathematically demonstrated. (2) Some of them have mathematical properties of which their proponents were unaware, and which lead to difficulties of interpretation. (3) As a consequence, the status of the empirical work already done with segregation indexes is questionable, and their validity for further research is undetermined.

This paper consists of a summary of the mathematical analysis made of segregation indexes and of a documentation of the conclusions listed. The problem of validating segregation indexes is viewed as one of some importance, not only in its own right, but also as an illustration of the difficulties in finding an adequate rationale for much sociological research using index numbers.

THE SEGREGATION CURVE

Consider the k census tracts of a city. The i th tract contains N_i nonwhites and W_i whites, totalling to $N_i + W_i = T_i$. Summing over i , $\sum_1^k N_i = N$, $\sum_1^k W_i = W$, and $\sum_1^k T_i = T$. For each tract compute the nonwhite pro-

* Revision of paper read at a meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society, April, 1954. The clerical assistance of Florence Sugeno, Richard W. Redick and Robert Glassburg is gratefully acknowledged, as is the financial assistance of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago. This research was supported in part by the U. S. Air Force under Contract Number AF 33 (038)-25630, monitored by the Human Resources Research Institute. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication and disposal in whole and in part by or for the U. S. Government.

¹ Donald O. Cowgill and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (December, 1951), pp. 825-831; Julius A. Jahn, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation: Derivation of an Index Based on the Criterion of Reproducibility," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (February, 1950), pp. 100-104; Julius A. Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (June, 1947), pp. 293-303.

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² Jahn, ³ Otis Jahn, Special 1952), pp. 573-581. "Formal I American Statistics, Vol. I, Ch

portion, $q_i = N_i/T_i$, and array the tracts in ranks 1 to k in order of magnitude of q_i . With this ordering compute tract by tract the cumulative proportions of nonwhites and whites, letting the cumulative proportion of nonwhites through the i^{th} tract be X_i and the cumulative proportion of whites be Y_i , e.g., $X_2 = (N_1 + N_2)/N$, $Y_2 = (W_1 + W_2)/W$. The segregation curve is the function $Y_i = f(X_i)$, as graphed in Figure 1. The observed segregation curve, together with the nonwhite proportion in the entire city, $q = N/T$, contains all the information involved in the calculation of any of the segregation indexes suggested in the literature. As is suggested below, research on segregation is not likely to progress far with the research problem limited to the study of this information alone.

DEFINITION OF INDEXES

We here define, with reference to the segregation curve, the several indexes proposed in the literature, omitting the proofs of the equivalence of our definitions and those originally given. In all cases these proofs involve only elementary algebra and geometry.

The "Gini Index," Gi ,² is the area between the segregation curve and the diagonal of Figure 1, expressed as a proportion of the total area under the diagonal. It can also be defined as the "mean cost rating" of the cost-utility curve with $Y = \text{cost}$ and $X = \text{utility}$;³ or as the weighted mean difference with repetition,⁴ of the tract nonwhite proportions, q_i , divided by the mean difference, $2pq$, of the binomial variable of color, for the total city population, scoring each white person unity and each nonwhite zero (where $q = N/T$, $p = 1 - q$). The simplest formula for computing Gi is $\sum_{i=1}^k X_{i-1}Y_i - \sum_{i=1}^k X_iY_{i-1}$, keeping the tracts in the order established for constructing the segregation curve.

The "Nonwhite Section Index,"⁵ here denoted D , for dissimilarity or displacement,⁶ is the maximum vertical distance between the diagonal and the curve in Figure 1, i.e., the maximum of the k differences $(X_i - Y_i)$. Alternatively, suppose there are s tracts for which $q_i \geq q$; then $D = X_s - Y_s$. If x_i and y_i are the *uncumulated* proportions of the city's nonwhites and whites, i.e., $x_i = N_i/N$, $y_i = W_i/W$, then $D = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^k |x_i - y_i|$. Furthermore, D is the weighted mean deviation from q of the tract proportions, q_i , divided by the mean deviation, $2pq$, for the total population. It may be interpreted as the proportion of nonwhites who would have to change their tract of residence to make $q_i = q$ for all i (hence the term, displacement).

Our interest in the Cowgills' index⁷ is confined to the mathematical form of the index, without regard to the important but logically distinct issue of the appropriate size of area units. The general form of the index is the ratio of the number of areas occupied exclusively by whites to the maximum number of areas which could be so occupied. To obtain a relationship to the segregation curve we have considered a slight further generalization: the ratio of the number of *persons* living in exclusively white areas to the total whites in the city. The generalized Cowgill Index (Co) is then the length of that segment of the curve, if any, which coincides with the vertical drawn from (1,0) to (1,1) (see Figure 2).

It may be noted that the foregoing indexes can be described as measuring directly the degree of departure of the segregation curve from the diagonal, which is the norm of even distribution. Other such indexes of "unevenness" could doubtless be suggested.⁸ The remaining indexes proposed in the literature can be related to the segregation curve only by explicitly introducing the city non-

² Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, *op. cit.*, Index #3.

³ Otis Dudley Duncan, "Urbanization and Retail Specialization," *Social Forces*, 30 (March, 1952), pp. 267-271; Otis Dudley Duncan, Lloyd E. Ohlin, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and Howard R. Stanton, "Formal Devices for Making Selection Decisions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (May, 1953), pp. 573-584.

⁴ Maurice G. Kendall, *The Advanced Theory of Statistics*, London: Griffin and Co., 3d ed., 1947, Vol. I, Ch. 2.

⁵ Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, *op. cit.*, Index #4; Josephine J. Williams, "Another Commentary on So-Called Segregation Indices," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (June, 1948), pp. 298-303.

⁶ Donald J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949; Edgar M. Hoover, Jr., "Interstate Redistribution of Population, 1850-1940," *Journal of Economic History*, 1 (November, 1941), pp. 199-205.

⁷ Cowgill and Cowgill, *op. cit.*

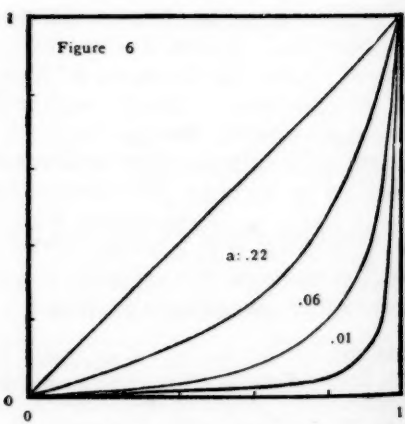
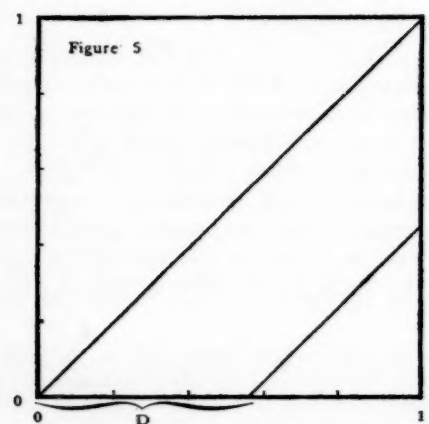
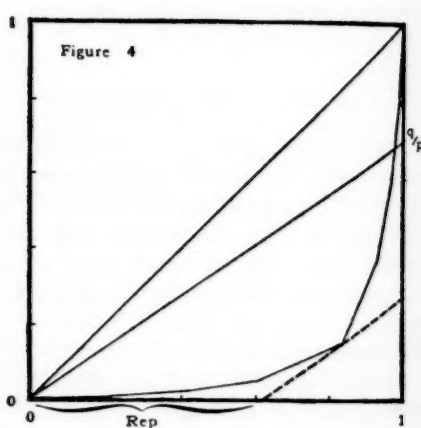
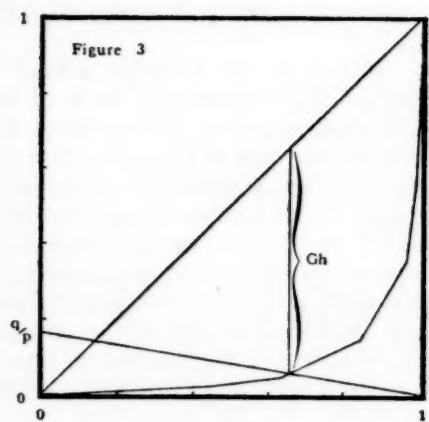
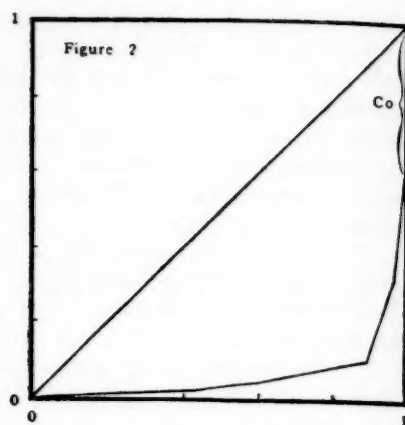
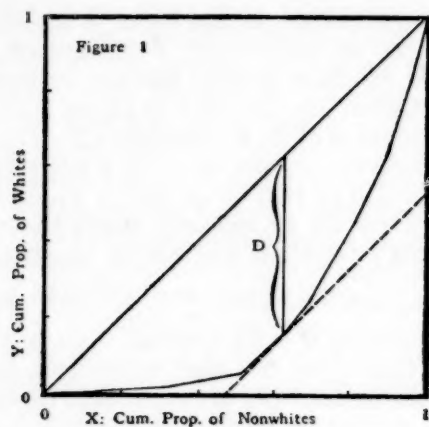


FIGURE 1. "Section" index in relation to segregation curve (curve for Macon, Ga., 1940 $D = .47$).

FIGURE 2. Generalized Cowgill index (Syracuse, N. Y., $Co = .42$).

FIGURE 3. "Ghetto" index (Louisville, Ky., $Gh = .60$).

FIGURE 4. "Reproducibility" index (Birmingham, Ala., $Rep = .62$).

FIGURE 5. Williams' model of the segregation curve, with $D = .56$.

FIGURE 6. Hyperbola model, $Y = aX/(1 - bX)$, for selected values of a .

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white proportion, q . We assume throughout that $q \leq .5$.

The "Nonwhite Ghetto Index," Gh ,⁹ is found graphically by plotting the line $Y = q(1 - X)/p$. The index value is then $(X_g - Y_g)$, denoting by (X_g, Y_g) the point where this line intersects the segregation curve (see Fig. 3).

The "Reproducibility Index," Rep ,¹⁰ is formally identical with the index of efficiency used in prediction work.¹¹ To obtain Rep graphically construct the line parallel to $Y = qX/p$ which is "tangent" to the segregation curve, i.e., which intersects but one point of the curve or which coincides with that segment (if any) which has a slope q/p . Then the value of Rep is the X -intercept of the auxiliary line (see Figure 4).

The correlation ratio of the binomial variable, color, on tract is by definition the square root of the variance between tract proportions divided by the total variance of the population; i.e.,

$$eta = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_1^k T_i q_i^2}{T p q} - \frac{q}{p}}$$

In the case of a binomial variable, eta is identical with the mean square contingency coefficient, ϕh ,¹² and is equal within a very close approximation to the intraclass correlation.¹³ It is, therefore, a well known statistic, appearing, e.g., in Robinson's formula for ecological correlation as a measure of "clustering by area."¹⁴ The "revised index of isolation" recently suggested by Bell¹⁵ is identical with the square of eta . This term, as well as the term "segregation score" used

by Jahn *et al.*,¹⁶ seems somewhat superfluous. It also seems undesirable to restrict the use of eta to the case of tracts of equal size, as the latter authors do. Unlike the other indexes, eta involves a squared term, and no simple geometric relationship of eta to the segregation curve has been found. That a relationship exists is, however, indicated below.

INTERRELATIONS OF INDEXES

Previous work has made it clear that the foregoing indexes are not independent. Jahn *et al.*¹⁷ found moderate to high empirical correlations among four of them. Hornseth¹⁸ demonstrated that the same four could all be expressed in formulas of one general type. Williams found relationships among them for a segregation curve of a specified type.¹⁹

In fact, there are definite relationships among the several indexes which hold irrespective of the form of the segregation curve, and which can be derived formally without reference to data. For example, the minimum value of Gi is D , and the maximum is $2D - D^2$. Some of the other relationships which have been found are the following:

$$(1) qD/(1 - pD) \leq Gh \leq D$$

(2) $1 - p(1 - D)/q \leq Rep \leq D$, unless the term on the left is negative, in which case $Rep = 0$.

$$(3) Gh \leq eta \leq \sqrt{Gh}$$

$$(4) 1 - 2p(1 - Gh) \leq Rep \leq Gh/(p + qGh)$$

(5) Co is the minimum value of Gi and D ; $qCo/(1 - pCo)$ is the minimum of Gh ; and if $Co > 1 - q/p$, then $Rep \geq 1 - p(1 - Co)/q$.

(Some values of eta and Gh reported by Jahn *et al.* which are inconsistent with the third relationship are to be attributed to their use of a formula for eta not weighted for tract size, or to computational errors.)

From the above it is clear that there is almost necessarily a high correlation between D and Gi , as well as between eta and Gh . On the other hand the correlation between

⁹ Leo A. Goodman, "On Urbanization Indices," *Social Forces*, 31 (May, 1953), pp. 360-362.

¹⁰ Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, *op. cit.*, Index #1; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

¹¹ Jahn, *op. cit.*

¹² Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (March, 1949), pp. 441-451.

¹³ Williams, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Leslie Kish, "On the Differentiation of Ecological Units," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1952.

¹⁵ W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 351-357.

¹⁶ Wendell Bell, "A Probability Model for the Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), pp. 357-364.

¹⁷ Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, *op. cit.*, Index #2.

¹⁸ Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Richard A. Hornseth, "A Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation' by Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (October, 1947), pp. 603-604.

²⁰ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

D and Gh need not be high if there is considerable variation in q . These mathematical relationships, therefore, appear to account satisfactorily for the empirical intercorrelations of the index values reported by Jahn *et al.*

A MODEL FOR THE SEGREGATION CURVE

Williams' model of the segregation curve, referred to above, is represented geometrically by the line parallel to the diagonal of the graph which includes the points $(D, 0)$ and $(1, 1 - D)$ (see Figure 5). For such a curve Williams showed that $Gi = 2D - D^2$, $Gh = D$, and $eta = \sqrt{D}$. It can also be shown that $Co = D$ and $Rep = D$.

The Williams model, although a useful analytical construct, does not serve well to describe empirical segregation curves. We have worked with an alternative model which assumes that the segregation curve has the form of a hyperbola, $Y = aX/(1 - bX)$, where a and b are both non-negative, and $a + b = 1$. Figure 6 shows selected curves of this form. It can be seen that the smaller the value of a , the greater is the degree of segregation, as measured by Gi or D . For a segregation curve of the form described, it can be shown that the segregation indexes have the following formulas:

- (1) $Gi = 1 + 2a(b + \log_e a)/b^2$.
- (2) $D = (1 - \sqrt{a})/(1 + \sqrt{a})$
- (3) $Co = 0$
- (4) $Rep = (\sqrt{ap} - \sqrt{q})^2/bq$, when $q/p \geq a$, and $Rep = 0$, when $q/p < a$.
- (5) $Gh = 1 - \frac{\sqrt{4abpq} - a^2 - a}{2bpq}$

No exact formula for eta has been found, but in view of the relationship between eta and Gh stated in the preceding section, the following is suggested as a close approximation:

- (6) $eta = (Gh + \sqrt{Gh})/2$, where the value of Gh is taken from the formula just given.

To fit the hyperbola to census tract data for a city, D was calculated from the data, and the parameters of the curve were computed from the formulas $b = 1 - a$, and $a = (1 - D)^2/(1 + D)^2$, the latter being the solution for a of the second formula in this section.

A hyperbola was fitted to the census tract data for each of the 60 tracted cities of the

TABLE 1. SELECTED MEASURES OF CLOSENESS OF FIT OF ACTUAL SEGREGATION INDEX VALUES TO VALUES CALCULATED FROM THE HYPERBOLA, FOR 60 TRACTED CITIES: 1940

Segregation Index	Mean Arithmetic Error	Mean Absolute Error	Root-Mean-Square Error	Correlation Index ¹
D	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Gi	-0.006	0.015	0.019	.980
Gh	-0.003	0.044	0.066	.945
Rep	0.028	0.065	0.102	.908
Eta	-0.016	0.039	0.054	.958
Co	0.078	0.078	0.124	...

¹ Correlation index = $\sqrt{1 - (\sum d^2)/k \cdot \text{Var}(I)}$, where the d 's are differences between corresponding actual and calculated values of a segregation index, and $\text{Var}(I)$ is the variance of the actual values. The correlation indexes for this problem are slightly lower than the Pearsonian correlations between actual and observed values.

United States in 1940. Then, predicted values of each of the indexes were computed, entering these parameters and the corresponding observed q 's in the foregoing formulas. The results summarized in Table 1 make it clear that most of the segregation indexes can be predicted rather closely, given D , q , and the assumption that the segregation curve conforms to the hyperbola model. The largest errors occur for Co , since the hyperbola model requires this index to be zero. Even so, the model does not sacrifice a great deal of information. There are 18 cities whose Co index is actually zero, and another 13 have values of Co under .05. An index of this type is evidently of little use in comparing cities on the basis of census tract data.

Two important conclusions may be drawn from the experience with the hyperbola model. First, there appears to be a characteristic form for the segregation curves of most large American cities, despite the considerable variation among them in degree of segregation. Second, for this universe of cities, there is little information in any of the indexes beyond that contained in the index, D , and the city nonwhite proportion, q . Each of the other indexes can be obtained to a close approximation given D , q , and the assumption of the hyperbolic form of the segregation curve. This conclusion might require modification if area units other than

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tracts were employed; and it has not been checked for any date except 1940.

EMPIRICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHOICE OF AN INDEX

A number of criteria have been offered for the choice of an index formula,²⁰ with no consensus on the matter having been reached. In our judgment it has been insufficiently emphasized that the empirical results obtained with an index may be strongly affected by its mathematical properties.

For example, Jahn *et al.* report several correlations between Gh and other variables,²¹ of which three are large enough to be statistically significant and possibly of theoretical importance. We have reworked these correlations with a somewhat different sample of 46 cities, calculating segregation indexes for the nonwhite, rather than the Negro, population.

The correlation of Gh with the 1939-40 crude death rate from tuberculosis for these cities was .58. A much higher correlation, .83, was found between the city nonwhite proportion, q , and the tuberculosis death rate. Further, since q and Gh correlated .51, the partial correlation between Gh and the tuberculosis death rate, with q held constant, dropped to .32, which is on the borderline of statistical significance at the .05 level. Or, when the tuberculosis death rate was standardized for color, the correlation with Gh dropped to .29, which is of doubtful significance. In addition it was found that Gi correlated only -.02 and .06, respectively, with the crude and standardized tuberculosis death rates. It appears, therefore, that the tuberculosis death rate responds primarily to the proportion nonwhite, rather than to the degree of nonwhite segregation, and that the correlation obtained with Gh reflects primarily the correlation of Gh with q . The difference between the results obtained with Gh and Gi follows from the fact that Gi depends only on the segregation curve, while Gh involves not only the

curve but also the nonwhite proportion, q .

It was also found that the correlation between Gh and the per cent of overcrowded housing, .40, dropped to .02 with q partialled out, and that the correlation with Gi was a nonsignificant -.13, with q being a better predictor than either Gh or Gi , correlating .76 with per cent of overcrowding. Similarly the r of -.39, between Gh and Thorndike's "G" was clearly attributable to the high correlation, -.87, between q and "G," and even changed in sign to an r of .11 when q was partialled out. The correlation of Gi with "G" was a nonsignificant .18.

These results indicate that the ability of a segregation index to predict other variables is an insufficient criterion of its worth. If we wished to predict the tuberculosis death rate, the percentage of overcrowding, or Thorndike's "G," we would use none of the segregation indexes, but instead, q , as the predictor. Yet the theoretically interesting question would remain, e.g., is the tuberculosis death rate associated with the segregation of nonwhites? To investigate this question we require a measure of segregation whose validity is established independently of its correlation with the death rate.

INADEQUACIES OF SEGREGATION INDEXES

The literature on segregation indexes contains references to a number of difficulties in their use and interpretation. Some of these require additional comment.

All of the segregation indexes have in common the assumption that segregation can be measured without regard to the spatial patterns of white and nonwhite residence in a city. Yet it is common knowledge that in some cities—e.g. Chicago—the nonwhite population is predominantly clustered in a "Black Belt," whereas in other cities nonwhite occupancy takes the form of scattered "islands" or "pockets." Surely whatever variables of ecological organization and change are related to the degree of segregation must also be affected by the spatial pattern of segregation. We have found that in 1940, in 50 of the 51 non-suburban tracted cities studied, the nonwhite population was more concentrated toward the ecological center of the city than the white population. (This study involved the use of an "index of centralization," which has not yet been described in pub-

²⁰ Cowgill and Cowgill, *op. cit.*; Hornseth, *op. cit.*; Jahn, *op. cit.*; Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, *op. cit.*; Julius A. Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "Rejoinder to Dr. Hornseth's Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation,'" *American Sociological Review*, 13 (April, 1948), pp. 216-217; Kish, *op. cit.*; and Williams, *op. cit.*

²¹ "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *op. cit.*, pp. 302-303.

lished work, but which is in some respects similar to the Gini segregation index.) Other aspects of the spatial pattern of segregation need to be studied as well. It seems unlikely that any single index of segregation will be found sufficient for the purposes of such research.

In none of the literature on segregation indexes is there a suggestion about how to use them to study the *process* of segregation or change in the segregation pattern. As a first step in this direction we have experimented with an adaptation of the method of expected cases to determine (1) how much of the segregation of nonwhites can be attributed to differences between whites and nonwhites in income, occupational status, and rentals paid, and (2) whether changes in degree of segregation over a ten-year period are related to changes in these variables. It has been found, for example, that there is a marked difference between southern and northern cities in the influence on residential segregation of white-nonwhite differentials in labor force and occupational status. When this variable is held constant, the Gini index of segregation is reduced by 12 to 22 per cent in most southern cities, but by only two to nine per cent in most of the cities of the North. Such preliminary findings indicate the advisability of taking account of socio-economic factors in analyzing differences in residential segregation. There is, further, a need for research to develop mathematical and empirical bases for anticipating the effects on measures of segregation of such changes as a marked increase in the nonwhite proportion, an improvement of the nonwhite's relative socio-economic status, or an invasion-succession sequence.

The problem of the appropriate areal unit for research on segregation has been forcefully stated by the Cowgills.²² As they imply, it is easy to gerrymander tract boundaries to increase or decrease the apparent degree of segregation. However, the problem cannot be solved merely by reducing the size of areal units, e.g., to blocks. The objections made to the census tract basis apply also, *mutatis mutandis*, to blocks. For example, if all nonwhites resided on alleyways and all whites in street-front structures, then even a block index would fail to reveal the high degree of segregation. The most complete

discussion of the problem of area unit has been given by Wright,²³ who has indicated the formidable difficulties in the way of finding segregation measures which are not relative to the system of area units used.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INDEX THEORY

In this paper we have not sought to formulate a comprehensive set of criteria for determining the validity of a segregation index. Probably such an attempt would be premature in the present stage of empirical investigation and conceptualization of the phenomenon of segregation. In our judgment the criteria thus far suggested in the literature fall short of comprehensiveness, and not all of them are likely to be generally accepted. However, we feel that the work reported here is relevant to the problem of validating segregation indexes, and possibly suggestive for the general problem of index development in social research.

Specifically, we have established the following: (1) There was a lack of clarity and consistency in the specifications for a segregation index originally proposed. Jahn *et al.* suggested that "a satisfactory measure of ecological segregation should . . . not be distorted by . . . the proportion of Negroes."²⁴ Though it has never been made clear what would constitute "distortion" in this respect, it is apparent from our analysis that the nonwhite proportion, q , does enter into the formulas for such indexes as G_i , D , G_h , and Rep , and that q is involved in different ways in the several formulas. For example, if the segregation curve remains constant, but q changes, then the values of G_h , Rep , and η will be affected, but not those of G_i , D , and Co . As yet there is no criterion to determine which of these is the more desirable property for an index number. Lacking such a criterion it is perhaps doubtful whether a meaningful comparison can be made of the degrees of segregation of two cities with greatly different q 's. (2) The empirical correlations among alternative indexes are clarified by determining the mathematical relationships holding among them—either in general, or under the assumption of a par-

²³ John K. Wright, "Some Measures of Distribution," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 27 (December, 1937), pp. 177-211.

²⁴ "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *op. cit.*, p. 294.

²² Cowgill and Cowgill, *op. cit.*

ticular model of the segregation curve. Thus the assessment of segregation indexes is carried a step beyond the speculation of Jahn *et al.* that their four indexes comprise "two sets of independently discriminative measures,"²⁵ and Hornseth's erroneous judgment that these four indexes "are for practical purposes identical measures."²⁶ (3) The mathematical analysis of segregation index formulas discloses the areas of redundancy and ambiguity among them, i.e., it permits a conclusion as to the circumstances in which two indexes will give interchangeable results and in which they will give incompatible results. Hence it goes beyond the truism that the empirical results obtained with an index are in part a function of the mathematical form of the index, to indicate what specific property of the index is responsible for the kind of results obtained. Thus, for example, the finding that Southern cities are more segregated than Northern can be properly qualified if it is known that the index being used responds in a certain way to variations in g , and that Southern cities generally have higher nonwhite proportions than Northern.

A difficult problem of validation is faced by the proponent of a segregation index formula. The concept of "segregation" in the literature of human ecology is complex and somewhat fuzzy, i.e., the concept involves a number of analytically distinguishable elements, none of which is yet capable of completely operational description. Yet it is a concept rich in theoretical suggestiveness and of unquestionable heuristic value. Clearly we would not wish to sacrifice the capital of theorization and observation already invested in the concept. Yet this is what is involved in the solution offered by naive operationism, in more or less arbitrarily matching some convenient numerical procedure with the verbal concept of segregation. The problem must be faced of considering a variety of possible selections of data and operations on these data in an effort to capture methodologically what is valuable in the work done with the concept prior to the formulation of an index. As we have suggested, it may be that no single index will be sufficient, because of the complexity of the notion of segregation, involving as it does considerations of spatial pattern,

unevenness of distribution, relative size of the segregated group, and homogeneity of sub-areas, among others. In short, we are emphasizing the distinction between the problems of (a) working from a limited set of data to a mathematically convenient summary index, and (b) working from a theoretically problematic situation to a rationale for selecting and manipulating data.

Lazarsfeld and his co-workers²⁷ have taken the lead in a much needed effort to codify the procedures by which concepts are so specified that index construction may profitably be undertaken and to rationalize the decisions involved in formulating an index for research use. Sociologists will learn, as economists have, that there is no way to devise adequate indexes which avoids dealing with theoretical issues. Incidentally, one lesson to be learned from the relatively unproductive experience with segregation indexes to date is that similar problems are often dealt with under different headings. Most of the issues which have come up in the literature on segregation indexes since 1947 had already been encountered in the methodological work on measures of inequality, spatial distribution, and localization in geography and economics.²⁸

²⁷ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton, "Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indices," in *The Policy Sciences*, edited by Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951.

²⁸ P. Sargent Florence, W. G. Fritz, and R. C. Gilles, "Measures of Industrial Distribution," Ch. 5 in National Resources Planning Board, *Industrial Location and National Resources*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943; Edgar M. Hoover, Jr., "The Measurement of Industrial Localization," *Review of Economic Statistics*, 18 (November, 1936), pp. 162-171; Wright, *op. cit.*; John K. Wright, "Certain Changes in Population Distribution in the United States," *Geographical Review*, 31 (July, 1941), pp. 488-490; Dwight B. Yntema, "Measures of the Inequality in the Personal Distribution of Wealth or Income," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 28 (December, 1933), pp. 423-433. See also Federal Housing Administration, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*, by Homer Hoyt, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939, Ch. 5; P. Sargent Florence, *Investment, Location, and Size of Plant*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948; and George C. Smith, Jr., "Lorenz Curve Analysis of Industrial Decentralization," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 42 (December, 1947), pp. 591-596.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

²⁶ Hornseth, *op. cit.*, p. 604.

PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANTS IN URBAN STRUCTURES *

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HISTORICALLY cities have been dependent upon migration for growth or even maintenance of size. Important as migration is to the city very little is known concerning the behavior of migrants in these centers. It has long been known that cities are made up of migrants, but just what this means to the city is as yet relatively unexplored. Most of the work in the area of migration to date has been concerned with the volume and direction of movement, reasons for movement, and the demographic characteristics of the persons engaged in the movement. From these kinds of data the significance of migration to the receiving communities has been inferred.

There is a great deal of conjectural literature concerning the social implications of migration, but the empirical studies attempting to measure some of the implications, as far as specific types of behavior are concerned, are limited. Generally, those available have been concerned with very select groups.¹

The only type of behavior which has received systematic analysis in relation to migration status is occupational role both before and after migration. Perhaps the reason for this is that migration studies have been, for the most part, limited to census materials.

Significant as these studies have been, it appears to the writer that a fruitful area for

research, in order better to understand both the city and the consequences of migration, is to measure selected types of behavior in the urban community of destination in relation to migrant status. This is the problem of the present study. Specifically, we will test whether migrants to an urban center, considered as a group, ever become participants in the activities of the community to the same extent as the non-migrant natives, and if so, how long a period of time is required. Further, we will test whether specific types of migrants enter the formal activities of the community more rapidly than other types of migrants. It is expected that migrants coming from an environment culturally similar to the present community will participate more rapidly than persons coming from dissimilar environments.²

We will test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis I. Migrants differ from the natives in level of participation but they become more similar to the natives in their behavior the longer they live in the community.³

Hypothesis II. Urban migrants tend to enter the activities of the community more rapidly than farm migrants.⁴

The data on which this investigation is based were gathered by the personal interview survey method during the spring and early summer of 1951. The interviews were obtained from the occupants of a random sample of dwelling units in a mid-western community with a population of nearly

* This article is based on the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954. Particular indebtedness is due to Ronald Freedman, chairman of the writer's doctoral committee and to Amos Hawley, Werner Landecker, and Robert Blood for their criticisms and many helpful suggestions. For funds with which to complete the larger study, the writer is indebted to the Human Resources Research Institute and the Chicago Community Inventory.

¹ Louis Killian, "Southern White Laborers in Chicago's West Side" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949). Grace G. Leybourne, "Urban Adjustment of Migrants from the Southern Appalachian Plateaus," *Social Forces*, XVI (December, 1937), pp. 238-246.

² This is based on the notion that even though migration itself may limit behavior, previous training to live in an urban setting will facilitate participation in the urban community, whereas, the lack of such training or experience will retard participation.

³ Natives include those who have lived in the community since birth, and those who entered the community before attaining ten years of age and have lived in the community continuously since that time.

⁴ Migrants are classified according to type of community of birth.

20,000. The data presented here are limited to married males. Thus, marital status and sex are automatically controlled.

Three different types of activity in the community are studied: membership in formal organizations,⁵ officership in organizations, and registration to vote. The analysis of participation⁶ in each type of behavior is a separate test of the general hypotheses. If the hypotheses are valid they should be supported for each type of behavior studied.

Prior researchers have investigated these types of behavior but most studies have emphasized that participation varies by

trols. Thus, the significance of migrant status itself can be demonstrated.

Membership in Formal Organizations. Membership in formal organizations tends to increase directly with length of time in the community within age, occupational and educational categories, as is shown in Table 1. Migrants, as a group, within each control category, have a lower participation rate than the natives, but the rate among the migrants becomes more similar to the natives the longer the former reside in the community.

Within each sub-group the lowest partici-

TABLE 1. PER CENT BELONGING TO FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN AGE, OCCUPATIONAL, AND EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN COMMUNITY

Length of Time in Community (Years)	Age		Occupation		Education		
	Under 40 yrs.	40 yrs. Plus	WC	MW	GS	HS	Col
Less than 2	25 ^a	22	33	16	5	10	47
2-5	37	36	53	22	15	37	54
6-10	45	31	46	35	18	42	58
11-19	50	40	67	30	29	49	60
20 and over	.. ^b	51	73	37	35	47	92
Natives	56	54	63	48	33 ^c	50	74
Total	41	42	56	32	24	41	61

^a The complement of this percentage would be the percentage of those who do *not* belong.

^b Less than 10 cases.

^c Less than 20 cases.

demographic characteristics such as age, sex, education, and occupation.⁷ The importance of these variables is already known; the present study will employ these as con-

⁵ Formal organizations refer generally to those groups which are ordinarily thought of as clubs and societies by the people in the community. However, church organizations, such as missionary societies, usher clubs, choir, and the like, have not been included. Although not reported here these latter have been analyzed separately.

⁶ Participation means only that persons belong to any organization, holds or has held an officership position, or is registered to vote. It does not measure intensity of activity.

⁷ Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, II (December, 1946), pp. 468-98. Herbert Goldhamer, "Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1943). William C. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, VI (June, 1941), pp. 380-84.

pation rate is found among migrants in the community less than two years, whereas, migrants who have been in the community twenty years or more have the highest participation. Among the white collar workers and the college trained, migrants who have been in the community over twenty years have a participation rate higher than the natives. In all other sub-groups, the natives have the highest membership rate.

Within age groups we note that, among the younger persons, migrants approximate the level of participation of the natives after ten years of residence, whereas in the older age group this does not occur until migrants have been in the community for twenty years or more. Apparently younger persons are less affected by migration than older persons.⁸

⁸ From these data differences by age are not evident. However, a more detailed breakdown by

Among white collar workers the difference between migrants and natives in memberships also tends to disappear after ten years of residence. At this point white collar migrants seem to participate at about the same rate as the natives, or even at higher rates. However, among the manual workers, migrants never do attain the level of participation of the natives at the same occupational level. It may be that there is a standardized urban culture shared by white collar workers which soon transcends the limiting influence of migration. This is to say that, in preparing for or in the pursuit of white collar work, persons learn at the same time an urban way of life, which is carried with them in their migration. This urban culture makes for a more rapid adjustment in the new community. Such a culture is not found among manual workers. Thus it takes the manual worker longer to become similar to the native in participation. In each length of time in the community category white collar workers have a much higher membership rate than manual workers. The importance of occupational status is strikingly evident when we note that white collar workers in the community from two to five years, have a higher membership rate than native manual workers.

Within each educational group participation increases consistently with length of time in the community, however, marked differences by education are found. The lowest membership rate, only five per cent, is found among grade school persons with less than two years of residence in the community. At the college level nearly half are members. The importance of education is also strikingly evident by the fact that college migrants who have lived in the community less than two years have a membership rate which is much higher than the natives in the grade school group and is nearly equal to the natives at the high school level.

At each educational level it takes at least ten years or more before migrants approximate the natives of equal education in level of participation. Generally, after ten years

age shows the middle age groups to have the highest participation, whereas the rate is lower for the younger and older migrants. A similar pattern was observed in a preliminary report issued by the Detroit Area Study.

of residence migrants become quite similar to the natives, however it seems that, at the lower levels of education, migrants become similar to the natives of equal education sooner than at the college level. It may be that college persons join more exclusive groups which are more difficult to enter. Such groups are likely to offer more restrictions to migrants than other type formal organizations.

At any rate Hypothesis I is supported by the data. The length of time required to become active in the community varies according to the personal characteristics possessed by the migrants. High status facilitates participation. However, regardless of status, it takes migrants ten years or more to become integrated in this aspect of the organized structure of the community.

The rate of entering formal organizations varies by migrant type as demonstrated in Table 2. However, for each migrant type, membership increases with length of time in the community. Farm migrants have the slowest entrance rate, but contrary to expectations urban migrants do not enter more rapidly than rural non-farm migrants. Nevertheless, they do exceed them in memberships after the first two years. Persons from rural non-farm areas tend to enter the organizations sooner than those from urban areas, but after a time in the present community the urban born have a higher membership rate than is found among the rural non-farm migrants. Thus, eventually urban migrants attain the highest participation rate.

The high participation on the part of rural non-farm migrants as a group was not expected according to our cultural similarity hypothesis. It may be that the rural non-farm category does not properly "fit" on a rural-urban continuum since it is a recognizable ambiguous category. For this reason the emphasis of our discussion is centered on the differences between urban and farm migrants. These two categories do clearly represent distinctly different types of communities.

A second possible explanation for this finding is that, insofar as rural non-farm areas are small villages, it may be that formal organizations play a more important role in such communities than in larger urban areas. These organizations may be quite

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PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANTS IN URBAN STRUCTURES

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TABLE 2. PER CENT BELONGING TO FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN COMMUNITY, BY MIGRANT TYPE

Length of Time in Community (Years)	Type of Migrant					
	Farm		Rural Non-farm		Urban	
	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number
Less than 2	14	(29)	41	(17)	26	(39)
2- 5	29	(56)	38	(29)	43	(60)
6-10	29	(56)	39	(23)	47	(62)
11-19	39	(49)	53	(17)	41	(44)
20 and over	48	(54)	52	(25)	57	(35)
Total	33	(244)	44	(111)	43	(240)

accessible to all members of the community in that sharp status differences on which to select members may be lacking or at least quite limited. Thus, living in rural non-farm areas may expose persons to formal organizations even more so than living in the city. It is suggested that the diversity of such groups may be rather limited in small villages as compared to urban centers, but the actual level of participation may be more frequent in the former. Thus, rural non-farm migrants may have learned to participate in such groups more so than other types of migrant. It may be that their participation rate decreases proportionately because of migration, but they continue to have a higher level of participation than other types of migrant. Perhaps an analysis of membership before and after their migration would show that their high participation rate in the present community is due to the fact that they have transferred their memberships to local chapters of national organizations to which they had previously belonged. One of the important functions of national organizations may be to cushion the limiting effects of migration.

Although membership increases steadily for the farm migrants by length of time in the community, these never do reach the level of participation of the natives. Also we note that no matter how long farm migrants have been in the community they have a lower participation rate than do other types of migrant who have lived in the community the same length of time.

For memberships in formal organizations, hypothesis II is also supported by these data. Farm migrants enter this activity less rapidly than rural non-farm or urban migrants. Here also, as within sub-groups, we

find that, regardless of type, it takes at least ten years or more for migrants to become similar to the natives in level of participation. Farm migrants, however, never do attain the level of participation of the natives.⁹ We will now turn to a different type of behavior in order to test further the same hypotheses.

Officership. The extent to which migrants may obtain officership positions is dependent upon their rate of membership in the organizations of the community. For this reason our discussion on officership is limited only to those persons who belong to an organization in the community and are thus exposed to officership positions.¹⁰ Officership refers to any specially recognized position in the group.

The participation rate in the officership class increases directly by length of time in the community within each control category. These data are presented in Table 3. As in formal organizations, those who have been in the community less than two years have the lowest proportion in the officership group, whereas those who have lived in the community twenty years and over have the highest percentage. Even though there tends to be a steady increase in the proportion who are in the officership group by length of time in the community, within age groupings, the main difference among the younger

⁹ When migrants are classified according to last place of residence the participation rate of farm migrants is lower than is found according to the place of birth criterion.

¹⁰ All persons without an affiliation have been dropped from the sample for this discussion. Included here are members of formal organizations, church organizations, and of the union. Therefore, the differences reported are not due to differential membership by length of time in the community.

persons is found between those who have lived in the community five years or less and those who have lived in the community for more than five years. However, among the older people the migrants never do reach the natives in the proportion who are in the officership class. Thus, for this category, the effects of migration are never overcome. Differences in the officership rate are also found by age. Older persons, as a group, have a higher proportion in the officership class than do younger persons.

When we control for occupation it is only during the first five years that migrants are distinct by their low participation. Migrant

worker group. White collar workers, as a group, have an officership rate double that of the manual workers.

Similarly, within each educational level, migrants approximate the natives in the proportion who are in the officership class after five years of residence. Again we find that after long residence migrants are likely to have a higher participation rate than the natives. In other words, the limiting influences of migration are lost. Marked differences are found by education. The college trained migrants enter officership positions much more rapidly than migrants at the lower levels of education. Again we observe

TABLE 3. PER CENT IN OFFICERSHIP CLASS WITHIN AGE, OCCUPATIONAL, AND EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN COMMUNITY

Length of Time in Community (Years)	Age		Occupation		Education		
	Under 40 yrs.	40 yrs. Plus	WC	MW	GS	HS	Col
Less than 2	23	8 ^b	33	10	8 ^b	.. ^c	45
2-5	23	26	37	13	9	29	31
6-10	37	31	53	27	16	36	58
11-19	37	35	47	30	31	33	50
20 and over	.. ^a	37	58	24	19	36	64
Natives	31	56	49	33	17 ^b	42	48
Total	30	34	46	24	18	32	48

^a Less than 10 cases.

^b Less than 20 cases.

^c None in the officership group.

white collar workers, after living in the community more than five years, have a higher percentage in the officership class than the natives of equal status. However, among the manual workers, as among the older people, migrants never do reach the natives in level of participation, but the differences are not marked after the first five years. Thus, among manual workers, it seems that during the second five years in the community the officership rate is more than double the rate for the first five years. Thereafter, even though the proportion in the officership class increases, the differences are slight. Marked differences by occupation are found. High status migrants enter officership positions more rapidly than low status workers. For example, white collar migrants, in the community less than two years, have an officership rate equal to the natives in the manual

that the possession of high status characteristics facilitates adjustment. For this type of behavior also hypothesis I is supported by the data.

Within each migrant type (Table 4) the proportion in the officership class also tends to increase with length of time in the community. Farm migrants, however, take longer to enter the officership roles than do the other types of migrant. Farm migrants have a particularly low participation rate during the early years in the community. Among the farm migrants we note a steady increase in the proportion in the officership group by length of time in the community, whereas the proportion of the other migrants in the officership class increases only during the first five years in the community, then begins to level off and remains relatively constant. Apparently rural non-farm and urban mi-

TABLE 4. PER CENT IN OFFICERSHIP CLASS, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN COMMUNITY, BY MIGRANT TYPE

Length of Time in Community (Years)	Type of Migrant					
	Farm		Rural		Urban	
	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number
Less than 2	12	(17)	28	(14)	20	(20)
2- 5	18	(40)	30	(20)	32	(41)
6-10	20	(41)	29	(17)	44	(52)
11-19	25	(40)	31	(13)	43	(35)
20 and over	42	(38)	32	(22)	35	(29)
Total	24	(176)	30	(86)	37	(177)

grants attain their normal participation rate in about five years, whereas, farm migrants are continually adjusting.

Thus, hypothesis II is again found to be supported by the data in that urban migrants tend to make a more rapid adjustment than other migrants. The effects of migration appear to be temporary, for migrants soon approximate the native population in level of participation and in many instances the migrants are even more active than the non-migrant natives. A third test of the hypotheses is presented below in terms of registration to vote.

Registration to Vote. Insofar as registration to vote is a measure of the level of participation in the political affairs in the community, the data presented here do not indicate that migration cuts a person off from participation. On the contrary, after living in the community for a certain length of time, migrants become as active, and in some cases even more active, than the native

population in terms of the proportion who are registered. It is evident from the data in table 5, that only those who have been in the community less than five years have a lower proportion registered to vote than do the natives.¹¹ Thus, migration has the effect of decreasing participation in the political life of the community, but this is only temporary. Registration to vote varies also by age. Older persons are more likely to be registered than younger persons.

Within each occupational and educational category a similar pattern is found. After five or more years in the community the migrants become very similar to the natives of equal status and even exceed the natives in the proportion who are registered voters. No consistent difference in the proportion registered is found by occupational or educational status.

¹¹ The same pattern of difference is found when those who have not yet established legal residence are dropped from the sample.

TABLE 5. PER CENT REGISTERED TO VOTE WITHIN AGE, OCCUPATIONAL, AND EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES BY LENGTH OF TIME IN COMMUNITY

Length of Time in Community (Years)	Age		Occupation		Education		
	Under 40 yrs.	40 yrs. Plus	WC	MW	GS	HS	Col
Less than 2	18	44	24	25	20	28	25
2- 5	63	77	74	63	51	77	70
6-10	82	97	87	89	89	88	94
11-19	92	93	.. ^a	89	90	91	.. ^b
20 and over	.. ^a	94	98	91	93	95	96
Natives	84	89	89	83	86 ^c	84	93
Total	66	88	79	77	75	81	76

^a Less than 10 cases.

^b All registered.

^c Less than 20 cases.

Thus, in terms of this type of behavior also, hypothesis I is supported by the data. After a period of adjustment, migrants as a group, tend to become quite similar to the natives.

The rate of entering the formal political activities of the community varies by type of migrant. Our data¹² show that it takes the farm and the rural non-farm migrants ten years or more in the community before they equal or exceed the natives in proportion registered, whereas, the urban migrants exceed the natives after they have lived in the community for only five years or more. After ten years in the community the migrant types can no longer be clearly distinguished from each other in the proportion registered, and in most cases migrants have a higher proportion registered than do the natives. Here again, hypothesis II is supported by our data.

Summary. These data have shown that: (1) migrants differ from the natives in level of participation, but they become more similar to the natives in their behavior the longer they live in the community, and (2)

¹² Due to space limitations these data are not presented here, but are available upon request to the writer.

urban migrants tend to enter the activities of the community more rapidly than farm migrants.

On the basis of a case study of a single community, it seems that migration does limit participation in community activities, but the initial limiting influences of migration are only temporary for these types of behavior, at least in that, with time, migrants either equal or exceed the natives in level of participation. When migrants first enter the new community they are much less active in the formal structure than are the natives, but with time their participation rate increases. The adjustment takes at least five years, however, and in some types of behavior migrants possessing low status characteristics never do attain the same level of participation as the natives. The possession of high status personal characteristics facilitates the adjustment.

Farm migrants have the slowest rate of entering. They seem to be particularly limited during the first five years or so in the community. However, the longer they live in the community, the higher their rate of participation. All migrant types eventually become similar to the natives in their behavior.

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COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINIONS



NOTE ON SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN, "REPEATED MIGRATION AS A FACTOR IN HIGH MOBILITY RATES"

To the Editor:

It is pleasing to find in Mr. Goldstein's paper a confirmation of what I have suspected for a long time, that even in American cities, high rates of migratory mobility are, as in the case of Norristown, sometimes the result of "the repeated movements of a relatively small number of persons rather than of single moves of a large proportion of the population." As a matter of fact I pointed this out in my study of migratory mobility in the U.S.A. (*Über die Mobilität der Bevölkerung in den Vereinigten Staaten*, Jena: 1929, esp. Ch. VI). At that time I did not have as accurate measures of mobility as Mr. Goldstein has computed for Norristown. However in a later study of migration to and from German cities (Heberle and Meyer, *Die Grossstädte in Ströme der Binnenwanderung*, 1937) we discussed the "repeater" phenomenon in detail on the basis of a study made by Bleicher in Frankfurt a/M (1892, 1895) and of other data obtained from the registration of moves into and out of German cities. We called this phenomenon "fluctuation" (*ibid.*, p. 42 ff.) and discussed its significance for the interpretation of general mobility rates. We distinguished various types of "fluctuation": of seasonal migrants, of young people in vocational training, of persons whose occupations involve frequent changes of residence, pathologically conditioned fluctuation of tramps and of persons constantly on the lookout for better jobs, of persons who cannot hold a job.

In an unpublished study of the volume of migration in the farmer village of Medelby in Schleswig-Holstein, we found an over-all rate of migratory mobility (*in-plus out-migrations*)/population much higher than in any of the cities for the same years. On closer inspection we discovered that in three years only one farmer and six other proprietors of businesses had moved from or to the community. The migrants were farm laborers, domestic servants, clerical workers; among them many "repeaters," mostly young people who left the village in

spring for seasonal work at seaside resorts or elsewhere and returned in fall.

Thus Mr. Goldstein's findings are not at all new, although his is the first study of this phenomenon using reliable data obtainable from American City Directories; since there are no better data available, his study could serve as a model for similar studies in other cities. The technique of such studies could even be improved by using shorter periods than decades where directories are published at shorter intervals.

Mr. Goldstein found that the more mobile elements came from the white collar and blue collar laboring groups (footnote 7, p. 540). This confirms our own findings concerning differential mobility rates of various occupations in German cities (*op. cit.*, p. 120 f., 188 f., and 197 ff.). Not only were the mobility rates for wage earners higher than those for salaried employees and these higher than for employers and self-employed persons, but we found also that the rates for wage earners showed the greatest variations in correlation with business cycles.

I would take exception to Mr. Goldstein's dichotomic distinction between "settled residents and nomads." Although this metaphoric use of the term nomads is not new, it seems objectionable because it tends to evoke value judgments. Furthermore, we would have to know a great deal more about the migration history of repeating migrants before we could make so rigid distinctions. Goldstein shows that in each decade from 50 to 60 per cent of the out-migrants of one decade had migrated to Norristown during the preceding decade. Now the fact that a person who moved to Norristown in 1939 left the community in 1942 does not make him a "nomad." What Goldstein overlooks is the fact that for many people frequent migration is part of the occupational pattern only in the younger years, in the initial phases of a career.

There are many grades of mobility between the tramp on the one hand and the permanent, life long resident of a community on the other hand. Consequently it also goes too far to say that "the great majority of migrants must at any given point of time be somewhat marginal persons in the community with little interest

in or time available for integration into its core of social organization" (*italics mine*). For, according to Goldstein's figures, a man could have resided nearly twenty years in a community and yet be classified as a repeating migrant and consequently as a "somewhat marginal person." It is true that *highly mobile* individuals, especially seasonal and casual workers, are often handicapped in their participation in community life; they are also often rejected by the permanent residents and many of them may not wish to be integrated into the community (Heberle, *Über die Mobilität, passim*, esp. p. 156 f.). These, while contributing heavily to the total number of migrations and thereby to the rate of mobility, do not constitute the "great majority of the migrants." To have pointed out that the number of migrants is likely to be considerably smaller than the number of migrations is the merit of Mr. Goldstein's paper; this distribution should also be kept in mind in the sociological interpretation of the findings. Furthermore, I cannot agree with Mr. Goldstein's assumption that migrants are likely to have a "value system" different from that of the permanent residents. The prevalence of short-distance migration, the occupational distribution of the migrants, and the fact that no sharp distinction can be made between migrants and residents speaks against this hypothesis. There may be cases, and Norristown may be one of them, where the more migratory parts of the labor force are culturally differentiated from the permanent residents, but migratory mobility per se does not necessarily result in a totally different value system. The managerial and technical employees, clerical and sales persons, the construction workers, domestic servants, and college students who move into and out of a community do as a rule share the over-all value system of the permanent residents; although their patterns of conduct, their attitudes to *certain* social norms may vary from those of permanent residents. I have discussed this problem in my previously mentioned book about the mobility of population in the United States. I believe in this point Mr. Goldstein has drawn too extensive conclusions from his data.

RUDOLF HEBERLE

Louisiana State University

REPLY BY GOLDSTEIN

To the Editor:

As noted in the introduction, the purpose of my paper on "Repeated Migration as a Factor in High Mobility Rates" was twofold: (1) to show how local sources of data can be used to yield demographic information which is other-

wise unobtainable in the United States and (2) to use these data to measure the extent to which high migration rates are the product of the repeated movements of selected persons rather than the single moves of a larger number of persons. Mr. Heberle recognizes that although the findings are not necessarily new with regard to population movement in general, they do represent for the United States "the first study of this phenomenon using reliable data . . . and could serve as a model for similar studies in other cities."

With regard to the comments on the dichotomy between "settled residents and nomads" and of the ascription to these two groups of two different value systems, I would suggest the following points. Unfortunately, in the social sciences we must usually attach technical meanings to terms which are also a part of everyday language. Because of this, the choice may not always be the best possible. The important point here, it seems to me, however, is not so much the particular term used, but rather whether there is a real need for the adoption of this or any other term to describe the particular phenomenon. In his studies, Mr. Heberle chose to use "fluctuations" to refer to the various types of repeated migration. In mine I have used the term "nomads" to refer to the repeaters. Both terms probably leave much to be desired. The important fact is that both of us recognized that there did exist this special group of migrants who had to be distinguished from the less mobile ones. Regardless of the term used, the concept is an important one.

Mr. Heberle's suggestion that the techniques of such studies could be improved by using shorter time periods is well taken. Although the published results are based on ten year intervals, the basic analysis was actually for biennial periods since the directories are published every second year. These basic data show that almost two-thirds of the persons classified as repeated migrants did not remain in Norristown for more than five years and fewer than 5 per cent lived there longer than fifteen years. It is because so large a proportion of them were there for so short a time that the question of marginality was raised.

The question of cultural differences between these repeated migrants and the core population and differences in levels of integration of the migrants into the social life of the community are admittedly in the realm of speculation, and were intended as such, although to a certain extent they were based on impressions derived from a variety of other data available in the Norristown study. Mr. Heberle offers his own set of hypotheses regarding these relationships. Both his and my interpretations are still specu-

lative and until subjected to empirical testing, of which some is now in process, must remain so. In offering my interpretation and hypotheses for future testing, I meant merely to suggest that since these two extreme population groups did exist, it was important in any further sociological studies of the community to take them into consideration because they may also represent two extreme groups in other respects as well. At the same time, recognizing the presence of these repeated migrants in the community, I suggested the need to examine more closely their role in effecting cultural change and in creating social conditions that might lead to either personal or social disorganization.

SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN

University of Pennsylvania

COMMENT ON A REVIEW OF PORTERFIELD AND TALBERT, MID-CENTURY CRIME IN OUR CULTURE

To the Editor:

Naturally, Professor Talbert and I are grateful to Professor Schuessler for taking time to review our recent publication, *Mid-Century Crime in Our Culture: Personality and Crime in the Cultural Pattern of American States and Cities* (October, 1954, pp. 636-637); but we should like to supplement his review with some observations which, it seems to us, are important to keep in mind as one approaches the book.

(1) It was designed as a continuation of studies earlier reported on in *Crime, Suicide, and Social Well-Being in Your State and City* and other sources, including articles in various journals. If it is viewed against this backdrop, the reader is less likely to feel that certain omissions in this little volume are serious lacunae.

(2) The reviewer believes we "fail to note that (the existence of certain variables in areas compared for crime) may create a serious problem if they are impossible to control or go unnoticed." On this point, we said, "In various statements, we have joined emphatically in stressing the need for caution in the treatment of such data" (p. 13); and we referred to an important passage in *Crime, Suicide, and Social Well-Being*, which we had no room to repeat.

(3) There is a difference between an "eclectic position" and a theory of dynamic inter-

active factors in the causation of crime. We take the latter rather than the former position.

(4) The reviewer says, "Porterfield and Talbert nowhere state that crime rates, as quoted in *Uniform Crime Reports*, refer only to urban populations." Since our index of homicide, as employed in Chapter IV, is established on data out of *Vital Statistics*, which do cover the total population of states, and since so much of our emphasis in other chapters is upon cities and census tracts, we did not consider such a statement important.

(5) The reviewer writes: "No consideration is accorded the principle that group correlations are restricted to aggregates and cannot logically be extended to individuals." We had this principle in mind when we wrote: "We are aware that the same behavior cannot be expected of everyone in the 'same cultural context'. . . . But we cannot discover what is unique until we have sorted out what is common, beginning with the larger and moving down to the smaller units of society" (pp. 11-12). This is the pattern we follow. When we get down to census tracts, our cases of homicide and suicide (as in Table 3, p. 66) are not out of governmental publications, but are individual cases, known to us as such, whom we have placed, out of our knowledge of them, on the North-Hatt scale for comparison with one another, as well as with the aggregates to which they belong.

(6) The reviewer observes that our indices of suicide, which indicate higher rates for upper classes, contradict reported correlations of trends in suicide rates with the business cycle. He hopes we will "give our attention next to this contradiction which emerges in changing from a geographical point of view." But Porterfield has previously shown in the *Review* (Vol. 14, August, 1949, p. 486) that suicide and homicide rates changed in opposite directions from 1910 through 1925 and, again, from 1931 through 1934; that they reversed their trends from 1935 through 1937, and went down together during World War II. Something is involved in suicide trends beside the business cycle, as Professor Schuessler, no doubt, would agree.

Some other issues come to mind as we read the review; but there is only room to thank Professor Schuessler for taking the trouble to raise them.

AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD

Texas Christian University

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS



AUDITOR'S REPORT

For the year ended November 30, 1954

January 19, 1955

Council
The American Sociological Society
Washington Square
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions, we have examined the financial records of the American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1954. We submit herewith the following exhibits:

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1954.....Exhibit A
Inventory of Securities Examined as of November 30, 1954.....Exhibit B

The accounting system of the Society is limited to a cash receipts and disbursements basis, only cash journals being used to record financial transactions.

The Cash Balances as at November 30, 1954, were confirmed directly to us by the depositories. We made a physical count on December 30, 1954, of the stocks and bonds listed in Exhibit B. Verifications in connection with other assets and any liabilities of the Society as at November 30, 1954, have been omitted. The only cash receipts confirmed by reference to outside sources were dividends on stocks and bank interest income. We made tests to ascertain that membership dues, *Review* subscriptions and sales, *Review* advertising and other types of receipts were properly entered in the cash receipts journal, and that all such receipts were properly deposited in the banks. In addition, we made an examination of the paid invoices and payroll and compared them with entries in the cash disbursements journal.

The book values shown for the securities on hand as at November 30, 1954, which were purchased subsequent to November 30, 1948, are stated at cost, whereas the values shown for securities acquired prior to that date are stated at values obtained from previous Auditors' reports; adjustments being made thereto to reflect capital changes. The November 30, 1954, market values represent the published redemption values for the bonds and the last

closing Stock Exchange prices prior to December 1, 1954, for the stocks.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Exhibit A) presents fairly the cash transactions of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1954.

We wish to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us by the Executive Officer and her assistants during the course of our examination.

Respectfully submitted,
King and Company
68 William Street
New York 5, New York

FINANCIAL REPORT FROM EXECUTIVE OFFICE

January, 1955

Table 1 summarizes the expenditures for the past year, comparing them with the authorized budget for that year, and indicating the extent to which the various activities of the Society were self-supporting (through subscriptions, advertising, and the like) or were supported from dues. This statement adjusts the cash figures as shown by the audit in order to fit the current year more exactly. Again this year, as in 1954, income exceeds expenditures by more than \$8,000, thus enabling the Society to add to its reserves. This was largely the result of economies made by the Editor and the Executive Office, and of increases in income from dues and subscriptions.

Table 2 shows the budget which has been authorized by the Council for the fiscal year 1955. This budget provides for the preparation of three bulletins under the Russell Sage Foundation agreement, for the initial award of the MacIver Lectureship, and for editorial, committee and office requirements as more realistically estimated. It will be reviewed by the Council in the middle of the year.

Respectfully submitted,
MATILDA WHITE RILEY
Executive Officer

Erratum. The name of KATHARINE JOCHER was omitted in error from the list of signatures to the Report of the Committee on Awards, issue of February 1955, p. 104.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

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EXHIBIT A

AUDITOR'S
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED
NOVEMBER 30, 1954

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
INCOME AND EXPENSE ITEMS:			
Membership Dues:			
Active and Associate	\$28,707.75	\$ 5.70	
Joint	101.00	.....
Student	6,946.15	.....
	<u>\$35,754.90</u>	<u>\$ 5.70</u>	\$35,749.20 ^a
American Sociological Review:			
Subscriptions	\$10,036.23	\$ 66.95	
Sales	927.95	2.25	
Advertising Income	4,295.49	.....
Printing and Mailing Costs	.....	19,733.27 ^b	
Clerical Salaries—Editor	.....	2,400.00	
Clerical Salaries—Office	.....	2,250.00 ^c	
Editor's Expense	.....	289.89	
Miscellaneous Expense	.....	1,345.00 ^c	
	<u>\$15,259.67</u>	<u>\$26,087.36</u>	(10,827.69)
Employment Bulletin:			
Payments for Listings	\$ 156.00	.....
Clerical Salaries	.....	\$ 400.00 ^c	
Miscellaneous Expense	.....	600.00 ^c	
	<u>\$ 156.00</u>	<u>\$ 1,000.00</u>	(844.00)
Directory:			
Sales	\$ 436.56	.....
Clerical Salaries	.....	\$ 10.00 ^c	
Miscellaneous Expense	.....	10.00 ^c	
	<u>\$ 436.56</u>	<u>\$ 20.00</u>	416.56
Index:			
Sales	\$ 2.00	\$ 5.80	(3.80)
Bulletins:			
Sales	\$ 5.00	\$.....	5.00
Research Census:			
Sales	\$ 489.80	\$.....	489.80
Program Abstracts:			
Sales	\$ 215.00	\$.....	215.00
Voice Recording:			
Sales	\$ 177.25	\$.....	
Production and Mailing Costs	.....	\$ 54.13	
	<u>\$ 177.25</u>	<u>\$ 54.13</u>	123.12

EXHIBIT A—Continued

AUDITOR'S
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED
NOVEMBER 30, 1954

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
INCOME AND EXPENSE ITEMS:			
Committees:			
Executive	\$ 83.00	\$ 478.70	
Nominating	.....	290.68	
Research:			
Mailing Census	.....	773.18	
Report—Clerical Salaries and Expenses	.....	250.00 ^e	
Other Committees	.....	39.15	
	<u>\$ 83.00</u>	<u>\$ 1,831.71</u>	(1,748.71)
Annual Meeting:			
Registration Fees	\$ 2,465.00	.....
Picnic and Dinner	1,175.14	\$ 2,834.00	
Abstracts:			
Mimeographing and Mailing Costs	.....	361.75	
Clerical Salaries	.....	600.00 ^e	
Program:			
Advertising Promotional Expenses	.....	134.77	
Advertising Income	1,833.14	.....
Printing and Mailing	.....	2,235.04	
Book Exhibits	1,271.00	13.65	
Book Sales	21.86	15.11	
Part-time Salaries and Expenses	4.60	349.31	
Clerical Salaries	.....	50.00 ^e	
Travel	.....	138.36	
	<u>\$ 6,770.74</u>	<u>\$ 6,731.99</u>	38.75
Office:			
Executive Officer's Salary—Part-time	.....	\$ 3,500.00	
Clerical Salaries	.....	5,092.75	
Printing, Mailing and Other Expenses—Mem-			
bership Notices, Files, etc.	\$ 1.80	1,619.53	
Expenses Reimbursed by Others	24.48	24.48	
Purchase of Office Equipment	25.00	883.20	
Rent	.....	600.00	
Office Maintenance Expenses	.....	695.52	
	<u>\$ 51.28</u>	<u>\$12,415.48</u>	(12,364.20)
Miscellaneous:			
Dividends	\$ 329.72	.....
Savings Account Interest	201.38	.....
Sale of Stock Rights	7.65	.....
Audit Fee	.....	\$ 200.00	
Dues to Other Societies—ISA and ACLS	.....	251.15	
Reprinting Bulletins	.....	181.40	
Mailing List Rentals	400.58	352.49	
Bank Charges	.20	5.75	
Social Security Taxes	.....	199.71	
Miscellaneous Expense	.....	30.20	
	<u>\$ 939.53</u>	<u>\$ 1,220.70</u>	(281.17)
TOTAL INCOME AND EXPENSE ITEMS	<u>\$60,340.73</u>	<u>\$49,372.87</u>	<u>\$10,967.86</u>

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

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EXHIBIT A—Continued

AUDITOR'S
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED
NOVEMBER 30, 1954

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts over Disbursements
OTHER ITEMS:			
Subscriptions to Other Journals for Members	\$ 4,729.90	\$ 4,723.40	
Robert MacIver Award Fund Savings Account			
Interest	90.92	.....
Purchase of Bonds	.....	7,920.00	
Russell Sage Bulletins	2,250.00	.....
Authors' Expense	.....	750.00	
TOTAL OTHER ITEMS	\$ 7,070.82	\$13,393.40	(6,322.58)
TOTAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS	\$67,411.55	\$62,766.27	\$ 4,645.28
CASH BALANCE—December 1, 1953			26,094.59
CASH BALANCE—November 30, 1954			\$30,739.87
Checking Account—General Funds	\$23,852.10		
Savings Accounts—General Funds	3,803.96		
Savings Account—Robert MacIver Award Fund	3,083.81		
	\$30,739.87		

* Includes Membership dues for the year 1955 of \$9,628.50.

* Does not include printing and mailing costs of December, 1953 *Review* of \$4,016.45, disbursed in the fiscal year ended November 30, 1953.

* Allocated portion of office salaries and expenses paid.

EXHIBIT B

INVENTORY OF SECURITIES EXAMINED

AS OF NOVEMBER 30, 1954

DESCRIPTION	Type	Date Acquired	Face Amount or Number of Shares	Book Value	Market Value
BONDS:					
United States Savings	Series F due 6-1-57	1945	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 1,480.00	\$ 1,800.00
United States Savings	Series F due 8-1-62	1950	8,000.00	5,920.00	6,208.00
United States Savings	Series J due 3-1-66	1954	11,000.00	7,920.00	7,964.00
STOCKS:					
American Telephone and Tele- graph Company	Capital	1932	3	296.00	526.12
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company	Common	1945	10	526.58	398.75
Consolidated Natural Gas Co. of Delaware	Capital	1943	1	.....	69.25
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey	Capital	1940	24	533.56	2,544.00
Union Pacific Railroad Company	Common	1945-48	20	1,313.75	2,982.50
United States Steel Corporation	7% Cum. Preferred	1938-39	5	532.41	797.50
				\$18,522.30	\$23,290.12

TABLE 1. EXECUTIVE OFFICER'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1954

EXPENDITURES	Budget Total	Total Actual	Unexpended Fund	INCOME ALLOCATIONS:	
				Dues	All Other (Subscr., Ads. etc.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I. PUBLICATIONS					
Review	\$32,737	\$30,034	\$ 2,703	\$14,765	\$15,269
Employment Bulletin	1,000	1,000	.....	844	156
Directory	20	20	.....	(+417)	437
Index	72	76	(-4)	76	.....
Research census, abstracts, bulletins	.....	.....	.....	(+710)	710
Voice recording	40	54	(-14)	(+123)	177
TOTAL	\$33,869	\$31,184	\$ 2,685	\$14,435	\$16,749
II. ANNUAL MEETING	2,800	2,923	(-123)	34	2,889
III. OFFICE (excl. amt. allocated)	11,428	11,530	(-102)	11,530	.....
IV. COMMITTEES	1,765	1,381	384	1,381	.....
V. MISCELLANEOUS	451	686	(-235)	100	586
TOTAL	\$50,313	\$47,704		\$27,480	\$20,224
TOTAL INCOME	\$50,718	\$55,892		\$35,668	\$20,224
NET	\$ 405	\$ 8,188		\$ 8,188	\$

TABLE 2. BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1955

EXPENDITURES	Budget as Authorized	Details of Publication Budget	INCOME ALLOCATIONS		
			Dues	Special Funds	All Other (Subscr., Ads. etc.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I. PUBLICATIONS					
Review		\$34,603	\$19,663		\$14,940
Employment Bulletin		1,000	844		156
Index		72	72		
Research census, program abstracts			(+705)		705
Russell Sage Bulletins		1,200	....	\$1,200	
TOTAL	\$36,875		\$19,874	\$1,200	\$15,801
II. ANNUAL MEETING	3,250		361		2,889
III. OFFICE (excl. amount allocated)	11,923		11,923		....
IV. COMMITTEES	3,125		3,125		....
V. MISCELLANEOUS	1,402		271	600	531
TOTAL	\$56,575		\$35,554	\$1,800	\$19,221
TOTAL INCOME	\$56,685		\$35,664	\$1,800	\$19,221
NET	\$ 110		\$ 110	

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



Reminder: The annual meeting of the Society will be held August 31 through September 2, 1955, at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.

The Third International Congress on Criminology will be held in London, on the 12th to 18th of September, 1955, inclusive. The main subject will be *Recidivism*, and will cover definitions of recidivism and their statistical aspects, descriptive study of forms of recidivism and their evolution, and causes, prognosis, and treatment. Reports and papers under each of these five headings are invited. The official languages of the Congress will be English, French, and Spanish. All communications concerning the Congress should be addressed to: The Organizing Secretary, Third International Congress on Criminology, 28, Weymouth Street, London, W. 1, England.

The Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion will hold its spring meeting in New York on Saturday, April 16, 1955. The general theme selected is *Psychiatry and Religion*.

Eastern Sociological Society. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society will be celebrated at its annual meeting April 2 and 3, 1955, at the Henry Hudson Hotel, in New York. Reservations for the banquet and reception may be made by writing Adolph S. Tomars, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The City College, 139th Street and Convent Avenue, New York 31, New York.

The Midwest Sociological Society will hold its annual meeting in Des Moines on April 21 through 23, 1955, at the Fort Des Moines Hotel. There will be a general section on foundation support of research Thursday evening, and a full schedule of sectional meetings on Friday and Saturday. Abstracts of contributed papers should be sent to John H. Burma, President of the Society, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa.

The Ohio Valley Sociological Society will hold its annual meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 29 and 30. R. Clyde White and Joseph Eaton of Western Reserve University are serving as co-chairmen of the program committee, and Millard L. Jordan of Fenn College is chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

Pacific Sociological Society. The annual meeting will be held in Santa Barbara, California, on April 22-23. The program will begin at 10:00 a. m. on Friday, April 22. Headquarters will be at the Carrillo Hotel.

The Rural Sociological Society will hold its annual meeting on the campus of the University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland, on August 29 and 30, 1955, with joint sessions at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D. C., with the American Sociological Society on August 31, 1955. The theme of the annual meeting will be *Research in Rural Sociology*.

Members of the American Sociological Society are invited to participate. Further information about the program is available from William H. Sewell, President, The Rural Sociological Society, 314 Agricultural Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin. Information about lodging is available from Wayne Rohrer, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

The Southern Sociological Society holds its eighteenth annual meeting in Nashville, Tennessee, March 31 through April 2, 1955, with headquarters in the Hermitage Hotel. The Local Arrangements Committee is composed of Gideon W. Fryer, Chairman; Morris J. Daniels; Mrs. Preston Valien; T. P. Yeatman; and Miss Louise Young.

The program includes sections on theory, methodology, cultural anthropology, teaching, and social work. A number of small interest-group meetings also are organized around special subject matter areas or methodological problems. In addition, members of the Society have the opportunity to participate in the dedication of the Robert E. Park Hall at Fisk University. A dinner and evening session on April 1 are being held on the Scarritt College campus.

National Office of Vital Statistics has re-examined the need for data on nativity of white mother, age of father, and plural sets of births. After intensive investigation of the uses of these data it was found that there is ample justification for retaining the three items in the vital statistics program, although tabulation of some of the data may not be needed every year.

The West Coast Society for Small Group Research has received a grant from the Social Science Research Council for the purpose of holding a conference for individuals actively participating in research in such areas as communications and production in small groups. The conference will be held 25-26 April in Monterey, California, and interested persons are invited.

For additional information write:
Dr. Francis H. Palmer
Human Research Unit #2, OCAFF
P.O. Box 446
Fort Ord, California

University of Buffalo. On September 1, 1954, Nathaniel Cantor, chairman of the department of

sociology and anthropology, assumed his duties as Consultant to the U. S. Foreign Operations Administration with headquarters in Paris. Professor Cantor's duties take him to six countries during which time he will work with training directors of European industries, through a series of intensive workshops held in the various capitals. Professor Cantor will return to the States in early May, 1955.

Llewellyn Gross will act as chairman of the department during Professor Cantor's absence.

University of California, Berkeley. Reinhard Bendix has returned to the department after a year's leave of absence on a Fulbright Research Grant.

Philip Selznick will be on leave during the Spring semester, 1954-55, to begin research in the field of the sociology of law under a Faculty Research Fellowship awarded him by the Social Science Research Council.

Kenneth Bock has resumed his duties in the department following a year's leave on a Faculty Fellowship under the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation.

William Petersen is serving as chairman of a newly organized Bay Area Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion which held its first general meeting on the Berkeley campus during Christmas week in connection with the general meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Duncan MacRae is assisting Professor Petersen in the organization of the program.

Clark Vincent has received a grant from the Rosenberg Foundation to complete his study of unwed motherhood in Alameda County. Dr. Vincent was visiting professor in sociology at Arizona State College during the summer.

Irving Babow is a faculty member of Golden Gate College. Under a grant from the Columbia Foundation, he is also Research Coordinator for a one-year Civil Rights Inventory of San Francisco sponsored by the Council for Civic Unity of that city.

University of Chicago. Nelson N. Foote will direct a workshop on Family Life Education and Evaluation August 1-19 to acquaint participants with the product of a three-year research program on procedures for teaching functional family courses as well as with theories of interpersonal competence. Admission is by invitation only, but inquiries are welcome. For information, write Eugene Litwak, Assistant Director, Family Study Center, The University of Chicago, 5757 Drexel Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Two workshops on methods of research in population will be given, one in each half of the summer quarter, by Professors Hauser and Bogue. Workshop I will cover basic techniques of demographic analysis, and Workshop II their application in population research. Inquiries may be directed to the Population Research and Training Center, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

The City College of New York announces a program of graduate work, leading to the degree of Master of Arts, in New York Area Studies. This unique course of graduate work is supported by a research grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and a teaching grant from the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation. Art, economics, education, English, government, history, music, philosophy, psychology, and sociology and anthropology are among the departments participating in this interdisciplinary program. A limited number of fellowships is available for the academic year beginning September, 1955. Oscar I. Janowsky, Director of Graduate Studies, will supply information upon request.

Colby College. Richard K. Pivetz, who has been appointed instructor in sociology, was formerly an instructor at the University of Buffalo.

College of the Pacific. Harold S. Jacoby, chairman of the sociology department, received a grant from the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco to study the East Indian population on the Pacific Coast. Jesse F. Steiner, Professor Emeritus at the University of Washington, joined the sociology faculty to teach during the fall semester in Jacoby's absence.

Fisk University. Three eminent social scientists are at Fisk University as visiting professors during the second semester. They are Morris Ginsberg, Martin White Professor of Sociology of the London School of Economics; S. Ralph Harlow, Emeritus Professor of Sociology of Smith College; and Kali Prasad, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Psychology and Philosophy of Lucknow University.

The department of social sciences has occupied a new, three-story, air-conditioned building which has been named Robert E. Park Hall in honor of the late Dr. Park who was Guest Professor at Fisk from 1936 until his death in 1944. The building will be dedicated in the spring with a series of seminars.

The Florida State University. T. Stanton Dietrich has been assigned on a part-time basis to the Council for the Study of Higher Education in Florida, directed by A. J. Brumbaugh.

John L. Haer has been awarded a Social Science Research Council grant-in-aid for a study of Community and Neighborhood Attitudes in Relation to Social Interaction in a Semi-Transient Residential Area in Tallahassee, Florida.

Lewis Killian prepared the findings of research on attitudes toward segregation in Florida which were included in the brief on school segregation filed by Attorney General Richard W. Ervin for consideration by the Supreme Court.

William F. Ogburn returned for part of a second year as Visiting Professor.

Robert McGinnis, with M. F. Nimkoff, has received a grant from the University Research Council for a study of Community Satisfaction and Family Structure in Tallahassee. Professor McGinnis has also assumed responsibility for the

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direction of the Sociology Research Laboratory, which has new and expanded quarters and facilities.

University of Idaho. Vernon P. Shook has been granted a two-year leave of absence to work in Iran, under the Point-4 Program. Mhyra S. Minnis, formerly senior social science analyst in the Library of Congress, has replaced him as assistant professor in sociology and social work in the department of social sciences.

Michigan State College. The Area Research Center of the department of sociology and anthropology has been awarded a 150,000 dollar grant for research on social factors involved in technological diffusion across the U. S.-Mexican border. William H. Form and Roy A. Clifford are now carrying on studies focused upon problems of institutional integration in El Paso and Juarez and in the lower Rio Grande Valley.

As part of the more general study, this department in cooperation with the department of sociology at the University of Texas is conducting a study of the human aspects of the disaster resulting from the recent flood on the Rio Grande. Harry Moore and Charles Loomis are co-directors of this project, which is financed by Carnegie Corporation and National Research Council funds.

Graduate research assistantships are available for students desiring to participate in this program as well as other projects carried on in Latin America by the Area Research Center.

The Social Research Service in the department has received a grant of 12,500 dollars from the Michigan State Board of Alcoholism to make a study of drinking and non-drinking patterns of high school students. Christopher Sower is chairman of the committee in charge of this project.

The Agricultural Experiment Station has recently provided additional funds for a study of the rural-urban fringe area from the standpoint of part-time farming, community-county relationships and problems of social organization. Glen Taggart is chairman of this project committee.

Paul Miller has been appointed Deputy Director of the Agricultural Extension Service at Michigan State College.

Jack J. Preiss completed the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in December, 1954, and has accepted a position in the rural sociology department at the University of Missouri.

Albert E. Levak has been appointed instructor in the social science department of the Basic College at Michigan State College.

James D. Cowhig has accepted a position as Research Sociologist in the Michigan Department of Mental Health.

Walter Freeman joined the staff in rural sociology at Mississippi State College in September.

Mississippi: The State College and the University. The cooperative graduate program initiated last year is being continued. Other cooperative efforts linking the departments include research in the areas of health study and the Mississippi population.

Staff changes at State College include the ap-

pointment of Walter E. Freeman as assistant professor of sociology and Herbert A. Aurbach and Luther Swords as Assistant Sociologist. Mr. Freeman and Mr. Aurbach are completing their doctoral work at Michigan State College and the University of Kentucky, respectively. Gerald Windham has been appointed graduate assistant.

Morton B. King, Jr., is currently serving as President of the Southern Sociological Society.

Robert L. Rands spent last summer at Albuquerque collecting information on Indian land claims for the United States Department of Justice.

H. Kirk Dansereau taught at Michigan State College last summer and continued research on attitudes and participation of union members.

Harald A. Pedersen has been awarded a Fulbright grant and is on leave of absence for the current year. He is Rural Sociologist on the research staff of the Royal College of Agriculture and Veterinary Science at Copenhagen, Denmark.

Harold F. Kaufman was visiting lecturer at the University of Wisconsin last summer, teaching courses in rural sociology.

William Paul Carter is currently serving as President of the Mississippi Council on Family Relations.

Dorris W. Rivers has returned from a semester's leave at Duke University, resuming his duties in Extension and resident teaching.

University of North Carolina. Institute for Research in Social Science. A Seminar on Community Development in Foreign Areas was held at Chapel Hill December 27-29, 1954. The Seminar was sponsored by the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago; the Illinois College Program in Community Development; and the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina; in cooperation with the University of North Carolina Extension Division and Community Development Projects, Ltd. A brief summary report is in preparation and may be obtained from the Director of the seminar, Harvey F. Baty, Montana State College, Bozeman, Montana. Gordon W. Blackwell of the University of North Carolina served as Associate Director.

Northwestern University. The chairman of the department, Kimball Young, will be on leave of absence during the Winter Quarter. He plans to spend some of his time completing certain manuscripts, and the balance at the Huntington Library gathering material on religious communal societies in preparation for a cross-cultural study along this line.

Wendell Bell joined the department in September as associate professor.

Raymond W. Mack has received a second grant from the Graduate School of the University to continue his research on social mobility in several occupational statuses.

The Montana Probation and Parole Association in cooperation with the Eastern Montana College of Education has undertaken a two-year survey of juvenile delinquency in Montana. While serving as visiting professor of sociology in the Eastern

Montana College of Education last summer, William F. Byron aided in initiating this study.

Two doctoral candidates in the department, Peter Jacobsohn and Seymour Yellin, won graduate fellowships for the year in university wide competition. Another doctoral candidate, Raymond J. Murphy, was awarded a fellowship for a year's graduate study by the Center for Metropolitan Studies of Northwestern University.

Men who received Ph.D.'s in the department last year have been placed as follows: E. Gartley Jaco as assistant professor at the University of Texas, Joel Smith as assistant professor at Michigan State College, Gresham Sykes as assistant professor at Princeton University, and Eugene Weinstein as a research fellow in the Russell Sage Foundation's internship program.

The Pennsylvania State University. Robert E. Clark is continuing as acting chairman for the second year. Jessie Bernard has been appointed a member of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association.

The department acted as host to the Pennsylvania Sociological Society for its annual meeting, October 30. Charles J. Bornman of Cedarcrest College was elected President.

Both Frederick R. Matson and Margaret Matson are on leave for the year accompanying the University of Chicago archaeological expedition to Iran. Joseph Lagey, previously at the University of Wisconsin, has joined the department as assistant professor.

University of Pittsburgh. Saxon Graham has been appointed research associate in the department of biostatistics in the Graduate School of Public Health. His function is to introduce the concepts and methods of sociology and cultural anthropology into the teaching in the School and to use such concepts in directing studies of the impact of a new county health department on the population of Butler County.

Purdue University. William F. Ogburn is Visiting Professor in Sociology during the spring semester. He is teaching The Sociology of the Family course and conducting an inter-departmental seminar on The Social Aspects of Technology. Richard Thurston was visiting instructor during the first semester of the present academic year, teaching cultural anthropology. A chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta has been organized on the campus for the first time. Walter Hirsch is faculty sponsor and representative with the national office.

Syracuse University. Douglas G. Haring, professor of anthropology and coordinator of the Japanese studies program, announced a Summer Institute on Japan to be held at Syracuse University July 5-August 12. Twelve scholarships will be available through the Institute.

The State College of Washington. Harry Elmer Barnes was visiting lecturer in sociology for the fall semester. Ivan Nye has been added to the staff in the capacity of Director of the Socio-

logical Research Laboratory, Julius Jahn having accepted a research position with a New York social service organization. T. H. Kennedy is on sabbatical leave, traveling in South Africa. Allan H. Smith is on leave as Staff Anthropologist with the Office of the High Commissioner, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Simon Ottenberg, from the University of Chicago, is teaching Smith's courses in anthropology.

Richard D. Daugherty headed an archaeological exploration party in the Priest River Valley, Canada, this past summer. John D. Lillywhite is on leave, having received a Ford grant for study at the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago. Jerome Green from the University of Southern California is teaching his courses.

John B. Edlefsen is teaching at the University of Punjab under the College Exchange Program with Pakistan. I. Roger Yoshino from the University of Southern California is teaching race relations. Joel B. Montague, Jr. is completing cross-national research begun while on leave at the London School of Economics.

James F. Short is working on a Social Science Research Council faculty fellowship project in juvenile delinquency. Paul H. Landis is on sabbatical leave for writing and travel. Walter L. Slocum, chairman of the department of rural sociology, devotes one-fourth of his time to teaching in the department of sociology. Fred R. Yoder, head of the department for many years, has retired after more than thirty years of teaching and research in the department.

University of Washington. Elizabeth Lyman, assistant professor, has resigned after a brief illness and has returned to her home in Connecticut to complete her recovery. She expects to resume her academic career by autumn, 1955.

Donald Mills, who is in progress toward the Ph.D. at Stanford University, has been a visiting instructor during the winter and spring quarters.

Harry Alpert, of the National Science Foundation, will teach during the second term of the summer quarter, 1955.

Washington, D. C. Richard O. Lang, a member of the Society for twenty years, has taken leave of absence from S. C. Johnson and Son, Inc., and is Deputy Director at the Office of Industrial Resources, Foreign Operations Administration.

Yale University. The department of sociology in cooperation with the School of Medicine announces the establishment of a training program in Medical Sociology leading to the Ph.D. degree. It is designed to prepare sociologists for teaching, research, and administrative positions that involve training in the social aspects of medicine and public health. This is a two-year program for students who have already completed two years of graduate work in sociology in an approved graduate school. It will begin on August 1, 1955, with an orientation seminar and in-service training in the Yale-New Haven Medical Center, to be followed during the academic year with course

work and other training experience. The student will devote his second year to the preparation of a dissertation in the field of health or medical problems and society. Four fellowships paying 1,500 dollars the first year and 2,000 dollars the second have been made available by a Commonwealth Fund grant. They will be supplemented by tuition scholarships (600 dollars per academic year) from Yale University. The closing date for applications was February 15. For further information, write to A. B. Hollingshead, 1965 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

Correction of error. In the December issue of the *Review*, on page 805, the affiliation of Professor Fred H. Blum was erroneously given as University of Michigan, instead of Howard University.

OBITUARIES

HOWARD W. ODUM

The sociological career of Howard W. Odum came to an end with his death the 12th of November, 1954, after an illness incapacitating him for only two months. In June he had officially retired from teaching at 70 years of age, after nearly half a century of university teaching. He had just received a three-year Guggenheim grant to continue studies of regional character and folk culture in the South. At the time of his death he had completed one half of the *Mid-Century South*, and his volume on the American Negro was well on the way. He was working on two other projects, *Technicways of Modern Man* and *Ecology and Regionalism*.

As a sociologist he was dedicated to the development of sociology by scientific methods; his books were generally loaded with facts either quantitative or verbally descriptive. He was appreciative of theory and conducted yearly a seminar in general sociology. In his scientific work he was careful in trying not to put in writing biased opinions, well illustrated in his exceptional (in this regard) book on *American Sociology*. At the same time there was a poetic urge in him and he had a sensitive feeling for literature, as shown by his trilogy, *Rainbow Round My Shoulder*, *Wings on my Feet*, and *Cold Blue Moon*. His varied personality is further shown by a life-long drive to improve social conditions. He was one of the few able to be both scientific and busy in social action.

His success in social action is recognized, after his death, in an editorial in the *Washington Post*, which begins with these sentences: "Howard W. Odum was the Eli Whitney of the Modern South. He inspired a revolution. Certainly there was no one—unless it was Franklin Roosevelt—whose influence was greater than Odum's on the development of the region below the Potomac." The intensity of his motivation suggests that of a social worker or an internationalist. He was the founder, president or administrative officer in about a dozen national, regional or state commissions or councils dealing with interracial cooperation, relief, public welfare, civil works, planning and regional programs.

His influence through his writings was great.

His books listed in *Who's Who* number twenty-two and he wrote about 200 articles. This prodigious productivity was foreshadowed by his acquisition of two Ph.D. degrees in 1909 and 1910; but it hardly predicted his success as a breeder of bulls, of possible symbolic value, though, to him. The American Jersey Cattle Club gave him their Master Breeders Award in 1948. The feed bill for his Jerseys alone was greater than his salary.

Of his contributions to sociology, the most well-known are his researches in regionalism, of which *Southern Regions* had a particularly wide influence, and his studies in folk sociology, begun early, where he kept close to the objective and did not try to impress others with the value-systems of small communities. Uncompleted were his researches on "technicways" of modern industrialism.

The Department of Sociology which he founded in 1920 at the University of North Carolina became quickly distinguished. There he emphasized community research, race relations, statistics, regionalism, population, rural studies, and adult education. He added to his staff rather ingeniously by the use of parts of some 650,000 dollars he is said to have raised, later to be carried permanently by regular university funds. Shortly after coming to North Carolina he created and was director of the School of Public Welfare, and of the Institute for Research in Social Science. During his directorship of the latter, the Institute published 87 books and 322 articles. Such accomplishment aided his fund raising. He delivered. About the same time he started the *Journal of Social Forces*, of which he was for a time the editor. Busy years these! The Department of City and Regional Planning at the University, formed in 1946, resulted from his efforts.

Of connections with scientific organizations, Odum was assistant director of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (which he took first steps in initiating), president of the American Sociological Society, chief of the Social Science Division of the Century of Progress Exposition, and president of the Southern Regional Council.

Among his honors, prominent were the Bernays Award in Race Relations and the Gardner Award for contributions to human welfare.

It is interesting to inquire what were the characteristics and habits that were responsible for these many achievements. Often he worked at all hours of the night, slept little and irregularly. For a time at the University he had three offices with the writing of a book or a research project in progress in each. Notable among his personal traits were boldness, initiative, leadership, kindness and loyalty. The power he possessed was built upon cooperation and in no sense Machiavellian; and in the attainment of his naturally strong ambition, he never "used" friends nor trampled upon the equities of others.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

Florida State University

THOMAS CARSON McCORMICK

Thomas Carson McCormick died at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, on November 9, 1954, at the

age of sixty-two years. He succumbed to a heart attack. Death came suddenly; he had taught his full schedule of classes on the day of his death. There had been no previous evidence of any coronary difficulties and he seemed to be well on the road to a complete recovery of his sight following the second of two painful operations to correct detached retinas. His death removes from the field of sociology one of its finest contributors in the fields of statistics, research methods, and demography.

Professor McCormick was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on January 11, 1892. He spent his early life in Tuscaloosa, and was graduated from the University of Alabama with an A.B. degree in 1911. He then was a high school teacher until 1921, meanwhile having earned his M.A. degree at George Peabody College in 1918. From 1921 to 1931, he taught at East Central State Teachers College in Oklahoma, with the exception of the years 1927-1929 when he took further graduate work at Chicago. He was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Chicago in 1929. In 1931 he became Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Arkansas. He was called to Washington, D. C., in 1934 to become research supervisor and acting coordinator of rural research for the Works Progress Administration. In 1935 he came to the University of Wisconsin as Professor of Sociology. He was Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology from 1941 to 1952, and Chairman of the Faculty Division of the Social Sciences from 1947 to 1950.

Professor McCormick served the American Sociological Society through membership on numerous committees. He was for several years an advisor to the Committee on Population of the U. S. Census Bureau and held membership in a number of professional societies, including: The American Statistical Association, The Population Association of America, The Sociological Research Association, The Midwest Sociological Society, Phi Beta Kappa and Alpha Kappa Delta. He was a frequent contributor to the sociological journals and in addition published several research mono-

graphs and books, including: *Rural Social Organization in Washington County, Arkansas*, AES Bulletin 285, 1933; *Rural Social Organization in South-Central Arkansas*, AES Bulletin 313, 1934; *Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households*, 1935; *Radio in the Classroom* (Ed.), 1942; *Problems of the Post-war World* (Ed.), 1945; *Elementary Social Statistics*, 1941; and *Sociology*, 1952. At the time of his death, despite two years of suffering with eye ailments, he was well on the way to completing a book on research methods and had finished, with his graduate students, several research papers which are now in press.

Professor McCormick was an outstanding teacher of statistics, research methods and demography. His former students in these fields hold important posts throughout the world. He was a careful and productive research worker. He was a friendly and understanding advisor to students and colleagues. He was a quiet and unpretentious man, but was very effective in dealing with others. He worked unselfishly for the advancement of sociology both at the University of Wisconsin and elsewhere. His loss will be heavily felt by his many former students, his associates at the University of Wisconsin, and his sociological colleagues throughout the world.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL

University of Wisconsin

The *Review* regrets to report the deaths of two of its members:

Ernest E. Hadley, M.D., of 1835 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., who had been an active member of the Society since 1930, died on August 10, 1954. Dr. Hadley received the M.D. from the University of Kansas. He published statistical studies in *Psychiatry*, and his fields of specialization were psychiatry and psychoanalysis.

Thomas Alfred Tripp, who had been an active member of the Society since 1942, died on July 2, 1954. Mr. Tripp did his graduate study at Columbia University, 1946-1950, taught in graduate schools since 1939, and did research in the rural field in the United States since 1936.

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BOOK REVIEWS



The Appeals of Communism. By GABRIEL A. ALMOND. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. xxi, 415 pp. \$6.00.

Gabriel Almond, a truly inter-disciplinary political scientist, here reports the results of a research program based mainly on an interviewing survey of Communist Party members in four countries—the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Since current members of the party are on the whole not accessible, the sample of 221 respondents is made up of former Communists. Unfortunately, the nature of the sample seems to have unduly shaped the focus of the study, so that it is much less informative about the appeals of Communism than it is about the reasons for and difficulties of defection from the movement.

The first—and excessively long—section of the volume seeks to capture the official self-image of the Communist movement through a content analysis of Communist classics such as Lenin's *What Is To Be Done* and current publications such as the Cominform paper and the *Daily Worker*. Here the author is going over well worked ground and relatively little new is added. Furthermore he seems to fall into what is perhaps the most common error in content analysis, by assuming that the salience of a theme bears a direct relationship to its importance. Thus, the fact that tactical qualities of the Communist, such as militance and rationality, are stressed overwhelmingly relative to the goal-oriented qualities leads Almond to assume that the esoteric model communist is predominantly a "power-oriented tactician." It would be about as meaningful to conclude that since football coaches do not much talk to their teams about the virtues of athletic competition, but rather spend virtually all their time lecturing to the men about the tactics of play, that the model football player is consequently not particularly goal oriented.

The subsequent sections which deal with demographic, attitudinal and experiential correlates of party membership are much more substantial, and, indeed, contain a great amount of interesting information. In many instances the data serve mainly to confirm widely held conclusions or observed trends. They suggest, for example, that the membership is almost certainly not drawn from predominantly seriously disadvantaged economic backgrounds,

from people frustrated in their occupational or mobility aspirations, or from the ranks of the "neurotic." In many other respects the data constitute fairly firm evidence for the rejection of certain popular but dubious arguments. Thus, it appears that origin in a religious home gives no certain insurance against eventual Communist Party membership since almost half of the respondents had parents who were pious or at least religiously observant. And the myth, popular in some liberal political quarters, that most ex-Communists end up by return or conversion to religion, is hardly supported by the table which shows that a mere 4 per cent of the former Communists took that course whereas 51 per cent joined moderate or extreme left wing political movements.

Some of the most important findings emerge not so much out of the topical areas explored as out of differences in the subgroup membership of the respondents, particularly their socio-economic status, national citizenship, and rank in the party. For example, working class respondents seem to take a much more pragmatic view of both the party's goals and its chances, concentrating more on current grievances of an economic nature and basing their faith in the party not on its theory but on its demonstrated "correctness" in analyzing current events. Unfortunately such sub-group differences are not adequately drawn together in a focussed way, and as a result the general social science significance of this study is not fully brought out. A further objection one must raise is that this study fails to give sufficient attention to the social setting of the party in the various countries studied. The most readable parts of the book, and incidentally those which are of the broadest social science significance, are those few brief pages in which Almond discusses distinctions between the various Communist parties arising from differences in the national social structures of which they are a part.

As far as practical political considerations are concerned, Almond demonstrates rather conclusively that the rank-and-file membership tends at the time of joining to be mainly aware of the agitational rather than the esoteric goals of the party, and to receive relatively little formal indoctrination while in the movement. These and other materials indicate that although the party as a whole may

be a conspiracy, a large proportion of the members are not really conspirators. Failure to distinguish the levels and types of party membership may not only lead to injustice in the treatment of some members, but also seriously hamper effective appeal to Communists to leave the movement.

Finally, relative to methodology, it may be said that in the use of his small sample, with its probable but not easily determined biases, the author proceeds with commendable reserve and yet without so much caution as to fail to maximize on the potentialities of his data. Because the sample is so small, however, only one control can be applied at a time, and there is some tendency to treat as independent some factors which are most likely highly intercorrelated as a result of the special composition of some of the national sub-samples. Accepting a limit of about 200 on the total sample size, the loss of coverage which would have resulted from restricting the sample to two rather than four national sub-groups, each with 100 rather than 50 cases, would surely have been greatly outweighed by the gain in flexibility of analysis and in reliability.

ALEX INKELES

Harvard University

Public Opinion and Propaganda: A Book of Readings. Edited by DANIEL KATZ, DORWIN CARTWRIGHT, SAMUEL ELDERSVELD, AND ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE. New York: The Dryden Press, 1954. xx, 779 pp. \$6.25.

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues makes its contribution to the promotion of interdisciplinary cooperation with this volume of readings "designed for use in courses in public opinion and in propaganda on the assumption that . . . its character, no matter where it is given, is interdisciplinary" (p. x). An editorial committee of political scientists, sociologists and social psychologists, with the help of an advisory board including still other disciplines, has selected some seventy-four papers and grouped them under five main headings: "The Nature and Function of Public Opinion," "The Social and Political Context of Public Opinion," "Social-Psychological Processes Basic to Public Opinion," "Dynamics of Opinion Formation and Change," and "The Identification and Measurement of Public Opinion and Propaganda."

The intent of collections like this one is, presumably, to simplify the teacher's task—after all, one volume is a great improvement over getting up your own diversified reading list. The approach has only one drawback: None of these readers ever corresponds to the

course you want to give. Here, for example, the first chapter is devoted to political theory and offers in forty-eight pages familiar snippets from Bryce, Lippman, and others. Depending on your approach to public opinion, of course, this offering is either far too much or far too little and never the exact selections you had in mind, in either case. The last section is, as usual with these readers, a selection of papers on method and technique. Though the SPSSI volume assigns almost two hundred pages to this topic, the treatment is neither complete enough to constitute a text on research methods in public opinion nor systematic enough to be a non-specialized introductory overview of the area. (And, with its appearance here, Lazarsfeld's "The Controversy over Detailed Interviews—An Offer for Negotiation" must surely be awarded the uncontested title for the most anthologized paper in social-psychological research literature.) Between the conventional theoretical beginning and the ritual research end, the substantive problems of public opinion and propaganda are given empirical attention.

None of the irritation just expressed applies uniquely to this reader, but rather to the whole question of the usefulness of volumes of this kind, a rash of which have been descending upon us. This one, however, is all the more questionable, because it has been prepared with an attempt to represent diverse points of view, but with no attempt to furnish guides to them—no interpretation, synthesis or evaluation. In one chapter concerned with "Definitions of Public Opinion and the Public," for instance, we are given Floyd Allport's typical critique of the "group fallacy," a more sociological statement by Kimball Young, and Blumer's famous attack on the premises and methods of public opinion polling. Even this brief summary provides something of an interpretive orientation to what the chapter is all about, and cogent introductory statements—outlining the main substantive problems, theoretical positions and controversies in the area and locating within this "academic geography" the particular papers chosen for inclusion—would make these readings more workable as the text or text supplement they are intended to be. Or, again, the particular empirical studies included were selected "not necessarily because they are definitive but because they illustrate how the research method can be applied to problems often regarded as the exclusive property of the wisdom distilled from random impressions" (p. x). As a result, these papers differ widely in quality and competence, but, aside from this general caveat, there is no evaluation to guide the unwary. In a brief foreword SPSSI's president, Eugene Hartley, enumerates the principles

that were readings:

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that were to guide the selection of these readings:

(1) the book was to be organized within a frame of reference valid for all of the disciplines involved; (2) it had to establish criteria of quality compatible with those accepted in the field it represented; (3) an appropriate balance between theory, method of study, and application was to be maintained; (4) it could not ignore the major controversies, philosophical, theoretical or methodological, that revolved about the issues current in the field; (5) disagreements were to be resolved by synthesis rather than by compromise or majority vote; and (6) finally, it must not be so long as to be unusable (p. v).

Admirable principles, but, as Hartley laconically concludes, "It was not always possible to adhere to these principles." It is primarily in the failure to indicate explicitly what the issues and controversies are, in the omission of evaluation of the materials included, and in the absence of attempts at synthesis that the volume places a larger-than-ever burden of selection and interpretation on the teacher who uses it.

Far from replacing reading lists, these readers generally become just one more item on them. In view of the fact that two-fifths of the papers included here are just as accessible and as much placed in context in the bound volumes of the *Public Opinion Quarterly* from which they came, there would seem to be little point to enlarging your list with this one, especially when the recent Berelson and Janowitz *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953) provides a more integrated coverage of much the same ground.

SHIRLEY A. STAR

The University of Chicago

Conflict and Mood: Factors Affecting Stability of Response. By PATRICIA KENDALL. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954. 182 pp. \$3.50.

This monograph reports upon an analysis of interview data collected in the course of three panel studies in which respondents were interviewed at least twice. The purpose of this analysis was to investigate factors that might be related to changes in response between interviews. Of the factors suggested by the analysis of the panel data, two were selected for further systematic investigation—conflict and mood.

An interview schedule was designed to provide a measure of conflict and this schedule was given twice to a sample of approximately 500 college students with an interval of four weeks separating the two administrations. A second

interview schedule, designed to provide a measure of mood, was given to another sample of approximately 500 college students with a four week interval also separating these two administrations.

Conflict was measured by asking students to choose between two alternatives. In some cases these alternatives were believed to be of approximately equal value or equal difficulty and in other cases of unequal value or difficulty. It was believed that the more nearly equal two alternatives were, in value or difficulty, the more difficult would be the choice. And the more difficult the choice, the greater the turnover or change in response from the first to the second interview. In general, the evidence reported seems to be in accord with these expectations.

The role of mood was investigated by asking students to give an overall rating of their general "good spirits" and more specific ratings as to their degree of "irritability-placidity, optimism-pessimism, and expansiveness-contraction" at the time the schedules were filled out. A latent structure analysis indicated that the four ratings could be described by a dichotomous latent variable. Thus four groups were obtained: those who were in a good mood at the time of both interviews, those who were in a bad mood, those who shifted from a good to a bad mood, and those who shifted from a bad to a good mood. The 514 students who answered the mood schedule were approximately equally divided among these four classes.

It was believed that individuals whose moods were different at the time of the two interviews would show greater turnover or change in response on opinion questions than those whose moods remained the same. The evidence reported on this point is not quite as decisive as that relating conflict to turnover. Yet the evidence is such that this variable seems worthy of further investigation as one potentially relating to turnover.

Some minor criticism may be made of the organization of the material. It is unfortunate, for example, that the notes are collected at the back of the book, requiring a great deal of turning back and forth for the serious reader. In some cases he finds that the notes do not seem to be particularly pertinent to the discussion and these notes might better have been omitted. In other cases, where the notes are pertinent, they might better have been incorporated into the text. Citations to the literature are also mixed in with other notes and it is impossible to determine, without turning to the back of the book, whether the note refers to a quotation from another source or merely the author's aside. In one of the notes,

page 169, what is frequently, but somewhat mistakenly, called the "Weber-Fechner law" (there are, in fact, two laws, one Weber's law and one Fechner's, and the two do not always apply together) is referred to as the "well-known Weber-Fechtner (sic) law."

These are minor criticisms and they should not detract from the fact that anyone interested in opinion and attitude research will find Kendall's book of interest and value. The analyses reported provide new and additional insights into the phenomenon of turnover. In addition, a number of provocative questions about turnover are raised that suggest needed research.

ALLEN L. EDWARDS

The University of Washington

Labor Mobility in Six Cities. By GLADYS L. PALMER (with the assistance of CAROL P. BRAINERD). New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954. xiv, 177 pp. \$2.25 paper; \$2.75 cloth.

Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity. By E. WIGHT BAKKE, et al. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. and the Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1954. vii, 118 pp. \$3.50.

During the 1930's the pressing problem facing the United States was that of unemployment. The basic question toward which all governmental and other actions were taken was that of how to find or create jobs for the unemployed. Because of the job shortage those fortunate enough to be employed tended to stay put. Labor mobility was at a minimum apparently; at least it posed few problems, if any, from the viewpoint of the employer and his production schedule. Whether the relative lack of labor mobility was a problem which should have been considered from the viewpoint of the employed workers, was thought to be but of minor importance when compared with the problem of finding jobs for the unemployed.

The situation was completely reversed during the 1940's, especially during World War II. With so many men in the military there was a shortage of civilian workers. And with so many more job opportunities workers began moving about from employer to employer, from one occupation to another, from industry to industry, and among the different areas of the country. Labor mobility was now a problem from the viewpoint of the employer and his production schedule. Either some other employer was threatening to take his labor away, or he had his eyes on someone else's labor supply. Indeed, various governmental measures

were taken during the war to reduce labor mobility.

As a result of these experiences of the 1940's labor mobility became a subject of accepted scientific enquiry. Comparatively little was really known about the subject for the entire United States. A few labor markets in local communities had been studied during the 1930's; labor mobility had been investigated (sometimes with the help of the W.P.A.) from the viewpoint of how the unemployed become employed. To the extent that there was any theory of labor mobility widely held, it was simply the view that differential wage rates would automatically take care of whatever labor mobility the economy might require.

Labor Mobility in Six Cities was really the first large scale attempt to learn some of the most elementary facts about labor mobility, including such questions as: how should mobility be defined precisely? How many workers are now mobile? what type of person is most likely to be mobile? what kinds of moves do workers make? The study was sponsored by the Department of Air Force as part of a program to develop new methods of systematically determining the manpower feasibility of military programs. The Social Science Research Council, seven university research centers (California at Berkeley and at Los Angeles, Chicago, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Minnesota, Pennsylvania and Yale) and the U. S. Bureau of the Census cooperated in a joint enterprise. A common schedule of questions was agreed upon and six cities chosen for study—Chicago, Los Angeles, New Haven, Philadelphia, St. Paul and San Francisco.

The Census Bureau (in 1951) then interviewed a sample of persons in each of these cities. Those persons 25 years of age or over who were found to have had a full time paid job for at least one month in 1950 were then asked a series of questions about their work histories during the decade 1940 to 1950. Those who had not worked for at least a full month in 1950, or were under 25 years of age, were asked only for their job (if any) on January 1, 1940. Information on geographic mobility and on the demographic characteristics of the persons also were obtained to relate to the patterns of work histories.

Certain tabulations were made by the Census Bureau for all six cities; other tabulations were made by the separate university centers. Several dozen reports were prepared by these centers, generally mimeographed or in other format not suitable for wide distribution or permanent reference; (probably no single person in the entire U.S. has a complete set of them). Gladys Palmer then undertook to create

a composite analysis for these six cities, an analysis which it was hoped, would supply useful information applicable to the entire labor force and which could be available for general distribution.

She succeeded in drawing an excellent picture of certain basic findings which were common to all six cities and, therefore, probably applicable to much of the total non-agricultural U.S. These describe the most noticeable features of labor mobility during the decade of the 1940's: what proportion of the population is most mobile? what are the demographic characteristics of the most and least mobile? are workers more likely to change industry or occupation?, etc. The answers provided constitute a considerable addition to our knowledge in this field.

The basic question of *why* workers are mobile or immobile was largely omitted from this investigation. The subject was investigated in enough detail and analysis carried far enough, however, to reveal that the entire subject is far more complicated than had been realized by many students; it is not a simple problem in the economics of wage rates. Indeed, labor mobility involves the entire question of why people behave the way they do.

Another limitation inherent in the original design of the study is that little information is provided on retirements from the labor force, or for some persons who worked only part of the decade. For example, if a man retired during the 1940's, no information is available regarding the nature of the job from which he retired, nor the reason for or age at retirement. If a woman worked at any time between 1941 and 1949 (and had not worked in 1940 and 1950) no job information was obtained from her. The results would have been far more interesting if the original design had included a survey of the work experiences during the 1940's, of a sample of all adult persons alive in 1951.

Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity consists of seven essays written by six students, Bakke, P. M. Hauser, G. L. Palmer, C. A. Myers, D. Yoder, and C. Kerr, with a preface by Paul Webbink. These essays summarize much of the known materials on labor mobility for the reader who is not a technical economist. Most, if not all of the findings presented here have appeared previously, some in the 1930's.

The essays are of variable quality ranging from good to excellent. When considered in connection with the *Six City* study, these essays are most useful to the extent that they cover in concentrated form, certain aspects of mobility which are not included in the *Six City*

report. This is particularly the case with the detailed materials on local labor markets; Palmer describes Philadelphia, Myers describes a small city in Massachusetts and one in New Hampshire, Yoder reports on Minneapolis and St. Paul, and Kerr analyzes the components of local labor markets; Hauser presents a very brief review of the U. S. labor force. To the sociologist, perhaps the most interesting essay is that of Palmer's on "Social Values in Labor Mobility."

What is most noteworthy, perhaps, is that four significant volumes on labor mobility were all published in 1954. In addition to the two reviewed here there also appeared Herbert S. Parnes' *Research on Labor Mobility: An Appraisal of Research Findings in the United States*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin 65; and A. J. Jaffe and R. O. Carleton, *Occupational Mobility in the United States, 1930-1960* (King's Crown Press). These four volumes are the results of a rather widespread investigation into one aspect of human behavior. Bits of knowledge have begun to be accumulated. If large scale and intelligent researches can be continued into future years some significant knowledge may yet be gained.

A. J. JAFFE

Columbia University

Jugend der Nachkriegszeit: Lebensverhältnisse und Reaktionsweisen. By GERHARD BAUMERT. xviii, 266 pp. 1952. *Deutsche Familien nach dem Kriege.* By GERHARD BAUMERT, unter Mitwirkung von EDITH HÜNNIGER. xx, 259 pp. 1954. *Schule und Jugend in einer ausbombten Stadt.* By IRMA KUHR. *Mädchen einer Oberprima.* By GISELHEID KOEPNICK. xl, 313 pp. (bound in one). 1952. *Behörde und Bürger: Das Verhältnis zwischen Verwaltung und Bevölkerung in einer deutschen Mittelstadt.* By KLAUS A. LINDEMANN. xv, 213 pp. 1952. *Gewerkschaft und Betriebsrat im Urteil der Arbeitnehmer.* By ANNELESE MAUSOLFF. xix, 176 pp. 1952. Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag (Gemeindestudie des Instituts für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung, Darmstadt, Monographie 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.). No prices indicated.

In September, 1944, 78 per cent of the city of Darmstadt (52 per cent of its metropolitan area) was destroyed in a half-hour air raid. The 1939 population of 110,000 sank to 67,000 in 1945, but by mid-1951 had reached 100,000 again. The organizational and personnel setting of the nine-monograph study of this city and its hinterland has briefly been described in the review of the first three volumes (*American Sociological Review*, 18 (December, 1953) pp.

716-719). Space permits no more than an illustrative topical indication of the remaining six, which indeed deserve fuller description and analysis. They deal with youth and family (Nos. 4-7) and bureaucracy and labor (8-9; Nos. 1-3 examine the relations between city and country). They contain important introductions by T. W. Adorno (4-8) and Frederick Pollock (9) (both of Frankfurt University's Institute of Social Research), excellent English summaries by Nels Anderson (4-7, 9) and S. Earl Grigsby (8), and many tables, figures, appendices on methodology, bibliographies, and indexes.

Baumert's *Postwar Youth: Living Conditions and Modes of Reaction* shows that, while bomb damage hit the ecologically more vulnerable self-employed worst, by 1949, despite the general decline in housing conditions, socio-economic stratification had been re-established. This stratification is illustrated, e.g., by the lower percentages of fathers in high social-status groups who had been in military service and of fatherless high-school as against grade- and technical-school students. But the stereotypical authority of the German father (argued, e.g., in Schaffner's *Father Land*) is a matter of the past not for this reason alone (as is also attested to by studies summarized in Lowie's *Toward Understanding Germany*, Chicago, 1954); here and in Monograph 5, Baumert argues that the "threatened institution of the family has certainly not been strengthened by the solidarity of the crisis" (Adorno in #5, p. vi). Darmstadt adults recognize that it has delegated some of its socializing functions to church and school. Class differences in child training do not seem affected by this, however (and resemble those found, e.g., in Chicago by Ericson); nor are differences in the socio-economic status of parents of children in higher as against technical schools.

In Darmstadt as in England (cf. Anna Fried's findings), children, rather than turning away from destruction, may be attracted by it, but the rubble does not have the fascination of ancient ruins. Complaints over housing conditions are widespread, though less among workers' children than among civil servants', for whom the contrast between pre- and post-bombing housing was greater. The description of changes in the family itself suggests that the father's absence may have severer psychological consequences for the child if it is due to divorce and desertion than if it is caused by death. Baumert concurs with Frenkel-Brunswik's observation of a materialistic, in addition to a more purely affective, dependence on parents, but believes it to be intensified by the extreme postwar conditions in this particular city. A study of friendships among high-school seniors

once more underlines the existence of status differences. But of "collectivities" and political groups many youths were sick. Occupationally, they seemed less security-minded than Americans studied by Sower *et al.* (*Youth and the World of Work*, Michigan State College, 1949). Girls were convinced that they would find husbands but did not view them as providers of secure existences. They expected to work.

German Families After the War has informative vital statistics on postwar Darmstadt, perhaps most important of them the declining birth, marriage, and divorce rates. In 1950, about a fifth of all elementary-school children grew up without fathers, and 14 per cent of the mothers of the urban, and 10 per cent of those of the rural, children worked outside their homes. Postwar shifts in the occupational distribution were slight, with civil servants showing the greatest increase (from 4.8 per cent in 1946 to 6.3 in 1950), and self-employed the greatest decrease (from 27.6 to 25.2). The authors give information on family income, budgeting, and housing. They suggest two major social-psychological family types, authoritarian and equalitarian, and discuss them with reference to work by such American scholars as Schaffner, Rodnick, and Burgess and Locke. They classify 104 or 387 families studied as characterized "by a strong predominance of the husband"; 99, as tending toward equality of the spouses; and 184, as having only "little articulated characteristics of one or the other kind" (p. 162).

Responses by a sample of 381 adults on divorce, unmarried motherhood, and common-law marriage are some of the findings from which is inferred "a change in traditional ideas and behaviors, but a continuing basic affirmation of the family as an institution" (p. 182). This deviates from Schelsky's (*Wandlungen der deutschen Familie in der Gegenwart*, Dortmund, 1953) dubious thesis of the over-all increase in family stability which is fully discussed by the authors.

School and Youth in a Bombed-Out City gives minute, largely uninterpretable descriptions of school, teaching, student-student and student-teacher relations, and attitudes toward the school. Of the 25 Darmstadt schools, 18 were destroyed in the fateful air raid. Six years later, teaching was once more carried on in 19 overcrowded buildings. A detailed discussion of types of schools and student provenience is followed by presentations of children's criticisms of lacking uniformity in the German school system and of their statements on elementary schools, the behavior of their pupils, on screening procedures for admission to higher grades, of high-school students' notions on the differences between their own and lower edu-

cational levels, of seniors' ideas on the aims of their education (where "understanding of other persons and peoples" ranked first) and the privilege of their own superior training, and of ideas of technical-school students, a type of school considered necessary by 90 per cent of them. Some findings of this monograph are: seniors overwhelmingly (82 per cent) said they preferred a teacher who allows students some decision-making; tolerance was his most frequently mentioned desirable quality (68 per cent), followed by pedagogical (40) and technical competence (37), objectivity (33), and personality (11); senior classes were status-conscious in respect to lower ones, but within them "personality" counted, not parents' position or scholastic performance.

Koepnick (*Girls of a Senior Class*) submitted a questionnaire to her 14 fellow-Oberprimanerinnen, who also wrote essays on each other and the class as a whole. The girls, 18-22 years old, are presented in brief profiles, followed by discussions of their friendships and enmities, cliques, attitudes toward school and teachers, memberships in youth groups and other organizations, and occupational and marital expectations. All but one of them took it for granted that they would go in for occupational training after graduating, before marriage.

Of the four monographs on youth and family life, Baumert's and Baumert-Hünigler's are the most impressive in combining skill in observation and discovery with generalizing and interpretive ability.

Bureaucracy and the Citizen: The Relation Between Administration and People reports that in Darmstadt, 10,000 persons (43 per cent of whom commute) work in public bureaucracies—24 per cent in offices with frequent contact with the population (housing, employment, welfare, police); 29 per cent in those with less (e.g., municipal building, treasury); and 47 per cent in those with practically none (e.g., road building, accounting, bureau of statistics). Some 8,000 persons visit one or the other of these offices every day, the average adult going three times a month; the time consumed amounts to 8,000 daily hours; the cost, to a daily \$3,000. Administrative functions and procedures are described for the departments of welfare, youth, education, municipal building, and health insurance, and discussed in regard to such problems, among others, as functionality vs. formalism (red tape), the possibility of rationalization (in Max Weber's sense), the influence of legislation, the identification of officials with the agencies in which they work, and expansionist bureaucratic tendencies. This analysis of bureaucracy is supplemented by an inquiry into relevant attitudes of a sample of 381 local residents. Women, especially house-

wives, and older people were found to be often indifferent; younger people, "upper lower class" members, workers, and unemployed, more often negative; and "lower middle class" persons, more often positive. These and other results are interpreted, predominantly along Freudian lines, in terms of two ideal-typical personality structures: authoritarian (affectively bound) and "non-bound" or "free" (in which latter "the Id has become Ego; the unconscious, conscious" [p. 114]). Among the expressions of the first are conservatism, conformism, and indifference; the second is characterized by independence and objectivity. "This venture," comments Grigsby (p. 151), "while open to criticism and handicapped by incomplete data, is a pioneer study in political behavior research in Germany." It is a promising undertaking which would gain in value if it led to replication with considerably refined conceptual and methodological tools based on better acquaintance with American studies in the area, including those of the Lasswell school.

Pollock's introduction to *Union and Works Council in the Judgment of the Worker* gives a valuable historical sketch of the development and political significance of these two institutions in Germany. More than half of the near-300 industrial plants in Darmstadt settled there after 1945. Only 4 per cent of them employed more than 500 persons each. Every other gainfully employed individual was organized (as against 37 per cent each in the Federal Republic and in Hesse). Of the sample of 432 workers, 49 per cent were manual ("workers"); 41, white-collar ("employees"); and 10, civil-service (*Beamte*). These respondents are discussed in respect to their social and other characteristics, including expressed political interest ("none," with 47 per cent, predominating). Of the men, 61 per cent; of the women, 27 per cent; belonged to unions, and more did among those 40 years and older than among those younger, and among monthly earners of between 100 and 400 DM (\$24-\$96) than among those earning less or more. Of the civil servants, 63; of the workers, 56; and of the employees, 42 per cent, were organized. Their expressed political interest was stronger than that of the unorganized. Among reasons for belonging to a union were "coercion" (30 per cent), the view that unions represent the interests of the workers (24), that they are "advantageous" (21), and that "in unity lies strength" (15); reason for not joining were "no interest, no advantage, no need" (43 per cent), "financial" (13), discontent with the local (12), failure to have been invited (11), and political resentment or apathy (10). Participation in meetings and other activities was

slight. Union officials, important in public relations, were judged positively by 23 per cent of the organized and by 4 per cent of the unorganized; negatively, by 20 and 19 per cent, respectively; with 46 per cent of the members and 71 per cent of the non-members saying nothing.

Works councils, resembling American shop committees, are optional in plants with four or more employees. Those with 50 or more, unless of a craft or commercial type, usually have them. Whether or not a works council exists depends, aside from the plant size, on the workers themselves. Four out of ten thought that it was absolutely necessary; 3 out of 10, that it usually or sometimes was; 17 per cent, that it was not; and 10 per cent did not know. The works council is elected from among the workers, and voting participation was exceedingly high, in part because candidates, unlike those for union positions, were personally known to the voters. The Darmstadt shop committees were composed of 70 per cent workers, 23 per cent employees, and 7 per cent civil servants; 86 per cent men; 87 per cent union members. Unions are more concerned with political issues (though not as much and in the same way as before 1933); works councils, more with in-plant problems; the majority of the sample favored closer integration of the two.

The monograph, as Anderson says, "is such a beginning as can be built upon with confidence by other students of the same subject" (p. 159). This, I think, can well be argued about the whole Darmstadt study. It is gratifying to learn that a condensed English version is being prepared. There is hope that it will codify the many findings of the nine monographs. A promising beginning toward such an aim has been made by Peter M. Blau in his review of the series (*American Journal of Sociology* LX (July, 1954), pp. 96-8, esp. 976).

KURT H. WOLFF

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Themes in French Culture: A Preface to a Study of French Community. By RHODA MÉTRAUX AND MARGARET MEAD. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1954. xi, 120 pp. \$1.50.

French Institutions: Values and Politics. By SAUL K. PADOVER. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1954. vi, 102 pp. \$1.50.

The first study is divided into an introduction and two parts. The introduction by Margaret Mead places the study in the frame-

work of a larger project of cultural research. In the study under review the themes are only identified. Concerning the methodology Margaret Mead says: "This monograph is a study of thematic regularities in French culture which have been identified by a group working together on a variety of materials, cross-checking patterns found in one set of materials against patterns found in another" (p. x). And again: "Part One has been organized so as to give a coherent presentation drawing on the range of materials, of a series of themes important in the nexus of familial relationships in the home, in the education of the French child for its adult role, and in the formation of attitudes that guide individuals, growing to maturity, as they move out of the 'foyer'" (p. x).

The second part gives three background papers written by three more contributors on some of the sources from which material has been taken: the family in the French Civil Code, plot and character in selected French films, and an analysis of French projective tests. The first chapter is by far the most interesting. In it the author describes salient features of the "foyer": closure, independence, and its character of a little world in itself. From the general characterization the author goes on to analyze different interpersonal relationships found in or generated by the "foyer." Somewhat less satisfying are the remaining chapters which give little more than a sort of classification of themes without many new insights.

The monograph is avowedly a beginning of a larger study, and it is premature to pronounce any judgment.

The second monograph under review contains five chapters which deal with basic values of French civilization, with the idea of democracy and the political institutions with social problems, and with foreign policy.

The first chapter provides an overall picture of French political ideology picking out first the basic values which the French seem to accept, viz., national independence, personal happiness, salvation, and estheticism. These and some other ideals influenced the formation of factions in the French nation which are identified mainly as the adherents of traditionalism and the adherents of revolutionism. The first may be characterized by adherence to such values as order, morals, and authority; the second by the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Between these two opposing factions we find the Center which at present seems occupied to a large extent by the followers of the Catholic Church. Present fraction along political lines seems to be a joint product of ideologies and class interests.

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The concluding section of the chapter points to some of the conflicts of loyalties to different, often incompatible values, e.g., adherence to revolutionism and fear of the Soviet Union of the leftists, loyalty to France and fascistic tendencies of the rightists, etc.

Interesting is the concept of democracy in France as presented by the author: it implies resistance of citizens to power—including that of the state. This, combined with the individualistic structure of French economy (three quarters of the population working in relative independence) may go a long way to explain some puzzling inconsistencies of French political behaviour.

Among the problems facing the French which are discussed are the economic problems connected with underindustrialization of the country, lack of large scale production and distribution, consequences of the two Great Wars and the shifts in political ideology and recombination of political groupings which ensued. One of the consequences of the conflict between different factions is the instability of the French Governments which persists in spite of the constitutional reform of 1946 and before the last elections. The author underlines the gravity of obstacles to the reforms needed in order to stabilize the political administration of the country, among which the most serious, according to the author, is the existence of a strong Communist Party.

In contrast to the instability of political life, the author underlines the stability and conservatism of the French social and economic life which led to the underdevelopment of the country. However, in the economic sphere remarkable progress has been made since the Liberation, namely, in social security, reconstruction of destroyed property, modernization of industry, and so on.

In the discussion of the foreign policy, the author makes two major observations: first that after the Great Defeat of 1940 France has ceased to be a major power; second, that she is keenly aware of it. The causes which had led to this defeat are summarized under the three M's: Men, Mind, and Materials. Men in charge of France's destiny prior to the Great Defeat proved to be incapable. But it was not only their incapacity, but especially the divided loyalties in the nation which had partitioned France into subgroups already before the War II. To these two causes—Men and Mind—a third is added, namely the lack of war equipment from which France was suffering acutely. From these roots stem the present attitudes toward Germany, the Soviet Union, the International Communism (the French apparently separate the two), opposi-

tion to E.D.C., and, above all, the attitude to national unity, that is to France herself. In conclusion, the author states that the prevalent educational system with its classical, literary trend and 'savage' examination system is the main obstacle to any efficient political and economic reform on the national scale.

The monograph is very stimulating and interesting. The reviewer feels, however, that its value could be further enhanced if the methods of obtaining data and their reliability were stated.

The following observations come to mind as one reads this compact and apparently well thought out monograph. First, there is a singular omission of the United States in the discussion of French foreign policy. Surely it is important. Second, one might point to some sociological implications of the author's analysis of the French loyalties and their conflicts. We are accustomed to think in terms of nations as functional wholes. The conclusion which forces itself on one's mind after reading the analysis under review is that there is no French nation in the sociological sense, that is, a social group capable of collective action as a unit and capable of withstanding a certain amount of stress without disintegrating. Now, if the sociological existence of the nationhood of France can be questioned, one can ask the further questions: With what faction of the French nation have the present alliances been made? What factions may be expected to fulfill the international obligations undertaken by the French Government which is opposed apparently by a majority of the French nation? And if the answer is unfavourable, what measures, if any, can be taken to insure that at least the majority if not the whole nation will fulfill them? And is it possible for any faction to fulfill these obligations at all? One may further question that it is sociologically correct to speak of nations as units of action in general: we seem still to be of the opinion, at least unconsciously, that nationhood is just there, that it is innate for people to feel patriotic! Much in the same vein, we used to think that it is "natural" for children to love parents and "unnatural" to hate them. We seem to forget that all these attitudes are taught and learned!

The answers to the above questions are not obvious from the monograph and further study will be needed to throw some light on these problems which seem to be important from the point of view not only of sociological analysis, but also from the standpoint of the realistic appraisal of France as an ally.

VLADIMIR B. CERVIN

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Symbolic Wounds: Puberty Rites and the Envious Male. By BRUNO BETTELHEIM. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954. 286 pp. \$4.75.

This curious and stimulating work creates a problem for the reviewer: whether to present the positive and valuable ideas it contains, or to criticize those which are unacceptable from the viewpoint of contemporary anthropology. A rounded treatment is impossible in the space available; so the emphasis has been given to developing some of Bettelheim's leading ideas, at the expense of criticism.

One major theme of *Symbolic Wounds* is the theory that male envy of female organs and functions may be as basic a phenomenon as male castration anxiety or female penis envy. Hitherto the psychoanalysts have tended to treat evidence of male identification with females as a reaction to castration anxiety or male role anxiety—as secondary, rather than primary. Penis envy, however, has been treated as fundamental in feminine psychology. Various analysts have dealt with the reactions differently: as simple reactions to a basic biological difference, or as complex reactions to sex role differentiation in Western society, but the foregoing statements still hold true. Bettelheim now tries to restore the balance, pointing out that there may be a basic, not a reactive male envy paralleling penis envy: an envy, however, not only of female organs, but of female functions—menstruation, child-bearing, and lactation. He speaks of "the great biological antithesis of the two sexes, which creates attraction and envy between them. . . . The desire for bodily characteristics and functions of the other [sex] . . . leads to a psychological impasse: to acquire the attributes of the other sex (which are desired) implies giving up one's own sex (which is feared)" (pp. 261-262).

This thesis, which may disturb some psychoanalysts, seems to the reviewer thoroughly worth entertaining. Similar views have been expressed in anthropology by Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and M. F. Ashley-Montagu, as Bettelheim points out. The reviewer cannot evaluate Bettelheim's analysis of the clinical data which he considers demonstrates male envy; he can say, however, that there are rituals in many primitive societies where male symbolic usurpation of female functions is found.

Forming his thesis of male envy on the basis of clinical data, Bettelheim began to re-examine the materials on puberty initiations. Here he brings to bear his second leading theme. He reacts against treating these rituals as equivalent to symptomatic expressions of patho-

logical feelings, as when psychoanalysts interpret puberty initiations as the sadistic subjection of the junior generation to symbolic castration at the hands of the jealous seniors. He prefers rather to see puberty rituals as positive and constructive in character, for all the participants. The ceremonies "try to master not a man-made conflict between the old and the young but a conflict between man's instinctual desires and the role he wishes to play in society. . . . They are efforts at self-realization; through them, man seeks to express and then free himself of his anxieties about his own sex and his wishes for experiences, organs and functions which are available only to persons of the other sex" (p. 263). This, too, seems a worthwhile exploratory attitude and one congenial to social science. It must be said, however, that there is evidence from some societies that some young men flee from their group rather than undergo initiation.

The concern with male envy and with puberty initiation as a mode of conflict solution for all parties involved, takes Bettelheim through the study of circumcision, subincision, ritual castration, some of the surgeries practiced on female genitalia, and various other topics. The stress throughout is on initiatory ceremonies, and on the evidence of male mimicking of, hence envy of, female functions, or female organs, or both. He has no convincing answer to the question of why this male mimicry is found in some cultures and not in others; hence the theoretical position, even at a very general level, must be considered incomplete.

Bettelheim develops an interesting series of more specific hypotheses about puberty initiation ceremonies and other matters. Neither these nor the detailed interpretations can be dealt with here. They range from penetrating to absurd. There are lapses into simplistic historical reconstructions, naive theories of psychic evolution, explanations involving the grossest psychological reductionism, etc. As in Freud's *Totem and Taboo* we find the equation of child, psychotic, and primitive man. All of these things are likely to repel the anthropological or sociological reader and to perpetuate negative stereotypes of psychoanalysis. A few examples:

If preliterate peoples had personality structures as complex as those of modern man; . . . if their egos were as well adapted to meet and change external reality—they would have developed societies equally complex, though probably different (p. 87).

One might even speculate as to whether men did not create the larger forms of society after they despaired of being able, by magic manipulation of their genitals, to bear children (p. 138).

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to bear children, our boys—and often also our men—might be able to sublimate it more satisfactorily and with less need to compensate by aggressive competitiveness or by creating and manipulating . . . ever more powerful and destructive gadgets (p. 265).

It is to be hoped that readers may be able to overlook such materials, and that the stimulation afforded by Bettelheim's leading ideas and mode of approach may result in a renewal of interest in, interpretation of, and utilization of ritual content for social science purposes.

DAVID F. ABERLE

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Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan. By GEORGE W. BARCLAY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. xviii, 274 pp. \$5.00.

A Report on Taiwan's Population to the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. By GEORGE W. BARCLAY. Princeton: Office of Population Research, Princeton University, 1954. xii, 120 pp. \$2.50.

Few issues are more pregnant with meaning for the welfare of the whole world than that examined in these two works: "What are the consequences of introducing 'backward' peoples to certain advantages of modern technology without its counterparts in social organization?"

The prominent economic position of the "developed" third of the globe rests upon centuries of vast, complex social upheavals which weakened old habits and beliefs and laid the basis for the growth of new social institutions. These are generally hospitable to an efficient demographic complex marked by low birth and death rates. Most of the world's population still grows by the wasteful system of high death rates offset by even higher birth rates.

Contact between the "developed" and the "undeveloped" areas generally finds the representatives of the former interested in lower death rates (either for their own safety or to increase productivity). Their policies often either ignore or are antagonistic to the kinds of social changes which would aid the transition from a wasteful to an efficient demographic balance.

Japan's colonialism in Taiwan (Formosa) is shown in the book as carefully guarding against social change while introducing measures to increase agricultural output. Virtually the only significant impact of the Japanese occupation (1895–1945) upon the daily lives of the people was a spectacular decline in the death rate. There was no participation of the people themselves, although their class and family structures were used for the establishment and

maintenance of foreign control. The Japanese took lessons from Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and, according to Barclay, "they governed Taiwan in a manner that was nothing short of exemplary by these standards—indeed, they excited the admiration of Old Colonial Hands who had a chance to witness their methods."

This type of compartmentalized social change (confined to those aspects of life which make men more efficient producers of goods for export) can be carried on successfully for relatively short periods of time, as Taiwan's experience shows. The Taiwanese even provided most of the surplus used for investment, in addition to handsome dividends on Japan's own "seed coin." Transportation and communication facilities were constructed, cities were modernized and experienced moderate growth, up-to-date commercial and financial methods were introduced, and even some processing of farm products was allowed. These aspects of economic improvement are often thought to be the automatic precursors of modern attitudes and practices in fertility control.

The great merit of the book lies in its exploration of a mine of comprehensive population data left by the thorough Japanese administrators in order to throw light on why this did not happen. It is conducted on the high level of competence one has come to expect from scholars working under the direction of Frank Notestein at the Princeton Office of Population Research. Statistics on manpower, migration, urban growth, mortality and fertility are much more plentiful and reliable than on most of the non-industrialized areas.

The result of this particular half century of colonialism was an explosive rate of population increase, equalled by few other areas in the modern world. One such area, of which the author seems unaware, is another island—Puerto Rico. The death rate there dropped even more spectacularly than in Taiwan and the birth rate is down only slightly. One major difference in the two situations lies in the increased participation of the Puerto Ricans which has enabled them to achieve a dramatic rise in productivity as well as to work out the unique political status of "commonwealth" as a solution to colonial dependency.

What would have happened if Japan had stayed? That is the question posed at the close of the book. "Malthusian" clouds obviously threatened. The report, made as part of a program to seek solutions to Taiwan's rural problems, faces squarely the issue of what will happen in the light of an exceedingly high rate of natural increase and prospects for even further rises in the rate. A shift to a lower rate is needed and will undoubtedly come about

sooner or later. The crucial question is, will it happen through lower birth rates or because of higher death rates? "If the situation is not resolved in one way, it assuredly will be resolved in the other," Barclay points out to the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. The kinds of shifts in governmental and private attitudes and practices required to lower birth rates are clearly set forth.

The report should be extremely useful to administrators who are faced with similar situations. The courteous but frank evaluation of the shortcomings of the present administration is most impressive. The report and the book together are "musts" for those teaching in the field of population, and will be extremely useful in the study of social structure and social change.

CLARENCE SENIOR

Columbia University

Colour Prejudice in Britain: A study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941-1951.

By ANTHONY H. RICHMOND. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited (Grove Press, distributor), 1954. xi, 184 pp. \$4.00.

Between 1941 and 1943 some three hundred Negroes from the British West Indies went to Liverpool to work in war industries under a scheme organized jointly by the Ministry of Labour and the Colonial Office. After the war some of them returned to their homes, some enlisted in the armed services or joined the Merchant Navy, while many of them chose to remain as civilians in Britain. Their presence gave rise to a number of problems, and this study was undertaken in order "to assess the extent to which these men had been accepted and assimilated into English society, and the way in which they had adjusted to conditions as they found them in the factory and in the community."

The purpose of the study, as thus stated, has been well achieved. The author has produced a thorough and painstaking piece of research. He apparently left no possible source of information untapped. He skilfully worked himself into the coloured community of Liverpool, participating in its activities and getting himself accepted and trusted ("functional penetration," he calls it). He interviewed and made intensive case studies of many of the West Indians themselves, and he consulted with social workers, officials and personnel managers of the factories, wardens of hostels, dance hall managers, and numerous others. He also made extensive use of documentary sources, including newspapers, the files of organizations, and especially the records of the Ministry of Labour.

The data show that there was, and still is,

anything but enthusiasm on the part of employers for taking on West Indian laborers. As to their relations with other workers, the author maintains that these stages can be detected: first, there was initial surprise and shock on finding coloured men doing skilled work; second, the West Indians were used as scapegoats, and all the problems and difficulties experienced in the factory were attributed to them; third, they came to be accepted, or rather tolerated, and occasionally respected; and, finally, at the end of the war, they tended to be rejected once more.

The study goes on to describe the difficulties and discriminations encountered by the West Indians in obtaining housing facilities, in associating with white girls, and in patronizing hotels, cafes, clubs, and dance halls. Some attention is given to several instances of racial conflict which flared up during and after the war.

In one of the final chapters the author undertakes to assess the degrees of adjustment achieved by the West Indians, using four categories, "excellent," "good," "average" and "poor," and assigning percentages of the men to each category. Unfortunately, his definition of adjustment is a narrow one ("adjustment implies the acceptance by the individual West Indian of the duties and responsibilities that were expected of him in his role as industrial employee") and the criteria he used are not sufficiently explained to make criticism possible.

This reviewer finds little fault with the author's field work, nor with his description of the situation in Liverpool. However, certain theoretical matters leave something to be desired. For instance, the author sets forth "three main hypotheses" (p. 6) to be examined in the light of his evidence. Space does not permit our reproducing them, but to this reviewer they are hardly hypotheses capable of being proved or disproved, but are rather broad generalizations or summaries, nor are they particularly pertinent to the kinds of evidence presented in the study.

Furthermore, the author occasionally draws conclusions which this reviewer is reluctant to accept on the basis of the evidence offered for them. For instance, "prejudice is a function of social and sexual status factors," while "discrimination tends to be governed by economic considerations" (p. 150 *et passim*).

The concluding sentence of the book is: "The present study conclusively demonstrates that there is widespread colour prejudice in Britain." It does that, to be sure.

BREWTON BERRY

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Handbook of Social Psychology. Vol. I. *Theory and Method*; Vol. II. *Special Fields and Applications*. Edited by GARDNER LINDZEY. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954. x, 1126 pp. \$15.00 for set; \$8.50 per volume.

In 30 chapters 45 selected social psychologists or their near-kin have reviewed and, for the most part, critically evaluated a wide range of topics. True, the field known as "social psychology" is not yet consensually firm and definite as to its content and boundaries. Yet, in my opinion, the topics herein discussed would be pretty generally accepted as belonging to their field by 90 per cent of those who label themselves social psychologists. Of the contributors, 34 are professionally regarded as psychologists and six as sociologists, though one of the latter, Lazarsfeld, is often considered essentially a psychologist. One contributor was trained in political science but today probably regards himself as a social psychologist. There is one cultural anthropologist, and two who are essentially statisticians, concerned chiefly with quantitative techniques. The reviewer could not identify one contributor as to professional role.

Judging by the bulk of the discussion as well as by a tabulation of the names of the contributors, this is definitely a psychologist's social psychology. This is not say, by any means, that the work of those who come under the academic *aegis* of sociology is overlooked. The most frequently cited psychologists are: G. W. Allport, Kurt Lewin, T. M. Newcomb, and N. E. Miller, in that order. The corresponding leaders from sociology are: John Dollard, Talcott Parsons, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and S. A. Stouffer. Dollard and Miller overlap completely—probably due to their joint authorship in most cases—otherwise, the citations to the three remaining psychologists mentioned are much higher in number than any of the other sociologists. As might be expected Margaret Mead was well out in front of any cultural anthropologists to be cited, but Sigmund Freud leads the list of all citations.

While these rough indicators of the importance of contributors are suggestive, the real quality of the chapters lies first, in the coverage of the pertinent literature, and, second, in the authors' ability to appraise the appropriate topics both honestly and critically.

It is clearly impossible to give much detail regarding the content of this vast work, but we may sketch in the major headings. As indicated by the sub-titles of the separate volumes, the editor has grouped the content into "theory and method," on the one hand, and into "special fields and applications," on the other. Yet, the chapters in the second volume do not rest

upon the theoretic and methodological principles and techniques discussed in the first. As Lindzey, in the Preface, admits, "the major empirical advances summarized in the second volume" are not "in reality a legitimate by-product of theoretical conceptions and sophisticated method" (p. viii). While social psychology has made great strides in the past few decades, we still have considerable distance to go before we shall be able to integrate our theory, method, and empirical observation.

The work is divided into six parts, three to each volume. Part I consists of a single chapter by G. W. Allport entitled, "The Historical Background of Modern Social Psychology." To this reviewer who has, over the years, written three different pieces on this very topic, the organization and treatment are indeed curious. Allport follows neither individuals nor schools but rather his own set of categories. For example, he deals with such concepts as sympathy, imitation, suggestion, crowd, group mind, "units of analysis" and "the beginnings of objective method." If one is to deal historically with important concepts in social psychology, why neglect interaction, motivation, social perception and role-taking, to mention a few important ones?

Part II, "Contemporary Systematic Positions," consists of five chapters. The first deals with the stimulus-response and reinforcement theory as applied to social psychology. The second presents a review of "cognitive theory" which purports to handle the pertinent data through a consideration of "centrally mediated process of representing external and internal events" rather than through the "Stimulus-Response orientation," although the author has made an effort to emphasize "the communalities rather than the differences" in the two approaches (p. 137). There is a chapter on "psychoanalytic theory and its applications" which is, despite some omissions, an adequate review. Part II closes with two chapters, one on field theory—following the Lewin school—and the other, entitled "Role Theory," by Sarnin. It is in this latter that George Herbert Mead gets his most sympathetic and understanding recognition. While the concept "interaction"—explicitly or implicitly—runs like a thread throughout these volumes, there is a clear neglect of the historical significance of Mead's various contributions.

Part III, "Research Methods," consists of nine chapters. This is the most technical division of the work, especially the chapter on quantitative techniques by Mosteller and Bush and the one on attitude measurement by Green. The chapter on "observational techniques," by Heyns and Lippitt, reveals the trial and error learning which went into the development of

this device and confesses that in this area "almost no one . . . has been primarily a measurement methodologist" (p. 403). Moreno and his sociometric techniques started a trend in social psychology which has continued to be strong through the years. While the review on this method by Lindzey and Borgatta is sympathetic, here too, as they point out, there is a need for "more sophisticated techniques for the quantitative analysis of sociometric data" (p. 444). The chapter on interviewing by the Maccobys is concerned entirely with the use of this device for research purposes and also largely with respect to the opinion survey. It is an excellent discussion within its self-imposed limits as to interview techniques, but for those areas of social psychology which are obviously not ready for quantification, at least not at any sophisticated level, the authors have, unfortunately, little to say.

Berelson's critical review of the emergence and development of content analysis is very good and his cautions should be heeded by all those who would tackle this still underdeveloped but promising technique. There is a brief chapter by Whiting on the cross-cultural method and a most insightful and wise chapter on "The social significance of animal studies" by Hebb and Thompson. Both the nonsense about and the positive contribution of animal studies to an understanding of human behavior are soundly set forth.

Volume II opens with Part IV, "The Individual in a Social Context," and consists of five chapters dealing respectively with social motivation, perception of people, socialization, psycholinguistics, and humor and laughter. All of these topics are pretty generally regarded as representing significant aspects of the activity of individuals within the group, and all of these chapters are, to this reviewer, well done.

Part V, "Group Psychology and the Phenomena of Interaction," is a catch-all of topics. Certainly the chapter on experimental studies of group problem solving might equally as well have gone into Part IV, since a good deal of the discussion revolves around the individual's behavior in the group context. The chapter, "The psychological aspects of social structure," is from the standpoint of sociology definitely misnamed. It deals, and very well too, with the recent studies in small groups, but the concept "social structure" is far broader than its employment here. While there is practically no experimental literature on the topic, Brown has done a good job in the chapter which reviews various facets of "mass phenomena." The chapter on leadership by Gibb is adequate but not outstanding. Kluckhohn's discussion of the field

usually known as "culture and personality"—here called "culture and behavior"—is one of the best reviews and interpretations of this somewhat troubled field that this reviewer has read. The final chapter in Part V, by Inkeles and Levinson, is on the highly controversial topic of "national character." The authors by no means confine themselves to the relation of culture patterns centering around nationality to personality but include in their chapter the topic of "basic personality structure" as developed by Kardiner and others. As a matter of fact there is considerable overlapping between this chapter and the previous one.

The final division, Part VI, "Applied Social Psychology," contains four chapters on the following topics: prejudice and ethnic relations, effects of mass media on communication, "industrial social psychology," and the psychology of voting. The first of these is a somewhat conventional discussion of the recent literature on these topics with a favorable bent toward action research in this field. The second is a sound and thoughtful treatment of one of the most rapidly growing areas in social psychology. The chapter on "industrial social psychology" is one of the shortest in the work and also one of the least adequate. The final chapter is a thorough discussion of voting behavior as seen within its larger sociological context.

To make a judgment on the quality and adequacy of specific chapters in this work is difficult and one reviewer will obviously differ from another. For me the best chapters were those on motivation, socialization, role theory, content analysis, and culture and behavior. The least satisfactory chapters were those on historical backgrounds, prejudice and ethnic relations, and on industrial social psychology. However, as an overall estimate, I regard this as a timely and welcome summary and interpretation as to where we stand in the still poorly defined field of social psychology.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Northwestern University

Children's Humor: A Psychological Analysis.
By MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954. 224 pp. \$3.75.

This book is a psychological analysis of children's humor, based on data from ninety children in a New York City private school. The children were between the ages of four and twelve, inclusive, and were mainly from professional Jewish families.

It is a well-organized book. There is an eleven-page introduction in which the author sets forth her thesis, her assumptions, and the outline of

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her investigations. In the succeeding chapters, she follows her outline. Not all authors do this.

The thesis of the book may be summarized in three parts. First, joking is a beneficent emotional resource whereby people ward off the oppressive difficulties of life and make light of their disappointments. Second, this is particularly significant for children who tend to lack other devices to achieve such purposes. Third, children's humor, when properly interpreted, reveals to us the hidden anxieties and frustrations of childhood.

The bases of interpretation are Freudian, as revealed in the master's *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*. In addition, psychoanalytic findings about the meaning of various themes are utilized, as are also the psychoanalytic scheme of emotional development as a framework to plot the occurrence of joke preferences, and the context in which a joke was told or invented.

One example is illuminating. A twelve-year-old boy draws a picture entitled "Custer's Last Stand." It shows a man with a fruit stand. What this means is that "the horror of annihilation is transformed into, or mistaken for, oral gratification. The boy wards off the image of the piled up corpses and substitutes an appetizing heap of fruit. Custer who led his men into bloody death becomes a kindly provider of food. . . . The wish to transform the grievous into the gratifying finds expression in a pretended misunderstanding" (p. 28).

There are several ways of regarding this book. If one is a member of the psychoanalytic cult, and of Freudian orthodoxy, all this is fuel to the fire and makes it a contribution to a specialized field of child study. On the other hand, one can accept the thesis of this book, recognize children's humor as a legitimate area for investigation, but reject the interpretations as far fetched, imaginative, intriguing, but largely woven out of fancy rather than fact.

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

University of Pennsylvania

Suicide and Homicide: Some Economic, Sociological and Psychological Aspects of Aggression. By ANDREW F. HENRY and JAMES F. SHORT, JR. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954. 214 pp. \$4.00.

The reviewer of this able monograph on the leading factors accounting for the existence, extent and control of suicide and homicide belongs to the troglodyte, or perhaps even the dinosaur, school of sociology which is more interested in relevant and well-organized descriptive facts than in either theory or methodology. Hence, he would be more inclined to

summarize the many illuminating facts set forth than to present and evaluate the conceptual ideas and methodological procedure. But, inasmuch as he is reviewing the book for a journal which is read almost exclusively by scholars whose main professional interest lies in either theory or methodology, the review will concentrate on the concepts and methods involved and on as many of the results as can be presented within the space available.

The book was originally planned as a merger of Dr. Henry's doctoral dissertation on the relation between suicide and the business cycle, and Dr. Short's doctoral dissertation on the connection between homicide, certain other major crimes, and the business cycle. It was later expanded to embrace a far wider and more fruitful field through including the work of Durkheim and others on suicide, and the clinical studies of psychologists and psychiatrists dealing with both suicide and homicide.

A behavioristic unity in the conceptual approach was found in the formulation of the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis as a tentative explanation of both suicide and homicide, if suicide be regarded as aggression turned inward on the self. This procedure made it possible to bring within a common framework for analysis the two basic acts of aggression which had hitherto been regarded as disparate, and to relate both of these to the business cycle, viewed as a major objective source of frustration.

Another important effort at integration in the study is the suggestion of a possible synthesis within which to merge the sociological and the psychological theories relative to suicide and homicide—two approaches to the problem which have formerly been cultivated quite independent of each other. The sociologist chiefly relied upon for an interpretation of suicide and, by implication, of homicide, was, quite naturally Émile Durkheim, with his well-known theory of group or social constraint.

Hence, we would be fair in stating that one of the two main conceptual and methodological contributions of the book lies in its original and ambitious attempt to bring into a coherent whole: frustration-aggression, suicide-homicide, business cycle and status relationships, Durkheim's sociological doctrine of the importance of social constraint, and the clinical work of the psychiatrists. The authors are the first to admit that this effort to attain conceptual synthesis is incomplete in this preliminary volume and that there remain wide gaps in both theory and facts. But they have surely suggested an approach and outlined further research which will confirm or discredit this important excursion into unity of investigation and interpretation.

With respect to methodology, the second outstanding contribution of the book is the judicious and successful effort to steer a middle course between theoretical metaphysics and epistemology, on the one hand, and quantitative mysticism, on the other. There is much current discussion of the need for greater interrelation of theory and research, and many are now advocating what they call "middle-range" theory. Nevertheless, any searching examination of the sociological field today reveals that there still remains a rather complete cleavage between those who concentrate on theory and those concerned with the collection and measurement of data. Drs. Henry and Short take the middle ground, combine theory and fact, and relate their theory to the relevant facts which they and others have uncovered and tabulated.

This same approach will not commend itself to extremists in either camp. The "pure theorists" will be prone to hold that the theory is not "pure" enough, while the "pure empiricists" will contend that the data are inadequate. But the more reasonable sociologists will agree with the authors in their contention that a sensible compromise is needed: that theoretical interest and formulation are necessary if one is to avoid meaningless measurement of grains of human sand, while adequate and relevant data are required to keep the rationalizing and meandering mind of the theorist closer to the track of factual reality.

Briefly to summarize, the chief findings which have resulted from the application of this comprehensive and reasonable approach to the problems outlined are the following: the suicide of higher status groups has a larger negative correlation with the business cycle than does the suicide of lower status groups. (In the language of troglodyte sociology, this means that the more prosperous and socially *élite* elements in society react in more sensitive manner to adverse changes in their economic status and social prestige than do the less fortunate ones.) In respect to homicide, the greater sensitivity is registered by the lower status groups.

The authors present interesting details as to the variations in correlation among special groups in the population based on race, age, sex, living conditions, etc., which we cannot summarize here in the space available. As a whole, the diversity in correlations with the business cycle grows out of the differential status losses and gains during periods of expansion and contraction of the business cycle.

Turning next to the sociological approach to suicide established by Durkheim and others, the authors consider the correlations determined by the extent of social control over individuals,

which they reduce to the single variable of "external restraint." In this, the relative strength of the relational system and status-position are the dominant factors. The results obtained in this field of observation indicate that "suicide varies negatively and homicide positively with the strength of external restraint over behavior." Here, again, there are interesting variations when the data are sorted out and applied with respect to race, age, sex and living conditions.

In Chapter VII, contributed mainly by Dr. Henry, there is a searching examination of the psychiatric theory and evidence related to the parent-child correlates of guilt and super-ego strength. This led to the following conclusions:

(1) "Love-oriented" techniques of discipline are associated with strong super-ego formation and high guilt while techniques of punishment not threatening loss of love are associated with inadequate super-ego formation and low guilt. (2) The relative disciplinary rôles of mother and father are associated with super-ego formation and guilt. When the mother rather than the father plays the dominant disciplinary rôle in the family, the male child tends to develop a strict super-ego and high guilt.

The authors conclude with a modest and suggestive chapter which outlines promising research suggestions that are designed to test independently the theoretical conclusions reached in the book. There are several appendices which are devoted to a survey of previous theory and research bearing on suicide and homicide (especially as they relate to the business cycle), to the discussion of the research techniques and concepts employed by the authors in this book, and to the relation between offences against property and the business cycle. There are elaborate footnotes indicating the sources of information on which the book is based, and an extensive bibliography is included. In other words, the paraphernalia of formal and up-to-date sociological methodology and scholarship is impressive and convincing.

As a summary appraisal of the book, one is justified in holding that it combines to an unusual degree a comprehensive conceptual approach to the problems envisaged, a sane and reasonable application of quantitative methodology, moderation but keen insight in deriving theoretical conclusions from the empirical data used, and illuminating suggestions as to further research and conclusions both in the specific fields covered and in closely related problems. Surely no more could reasonably be demanded of a pioneer treatise in any field.

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Oppression: A Study in Social and Criminal Psychology. By TADEUSZ GRYGIER. London: Routledge and Kegan, Ltd., 1954. xiv, 363 pp. \$6.00.

This is a report of the results of a study designed to determine the degree to which acceptable social behavior is related to the development of an individual's conscience, and what happens to the conscience when men are subjected to different degrees of oppression. Defining conscience, in part as the capacity to direct aggressions inward, or as a tendency to place blame on one's self rather than upon others, the author formulated a research project intended to establish what relation exists between social behavior and the capacity to experience guilt feelings and to ascertain what occurs to this capacity when men experience frustrations under oppressive situations.

The research design in its original form is highly ingenious and imaginative. Unfortunately, however, because of circumstances beyond the author's control, several phases of the design had to be materially modified as to render some of the author's and the reader's hopes unrealized.

To gather data necessary to achieve the two general objectives of the study, the author planned to investigate the effects of oppression upon the personality and the behavior of three general groups of displaced persons of World War II: (a) those who had experienced a period of confinement in concentration camps; (b) those who had been forcibly placed as slave laborers on farms; (c) those who had been forced to work in various plants in industrial centers. These three categories of displaced persons the author believes were subjected to varying kinds and degrees of oppression. The concentration camps group was most severely oppressed, while the industrial centers group least oppressed.

The author's definition of oppression involves five components, namely, the loss of freedom, isolation, a disregard of the personality of the individual, insecurity and frustration. These essential factors in what is labelled oppression, according to the author, constituted a major portion of the environment of persons displaced by the Nazi and Soviet authorities during the course of World War II.

The subjects for study were selected from amongst displaced persons in U.N.R.R.A. camps and prisons in 1946. In order to insure comparability of the data gathered an attempt was made to match persons in the concentration camps group with persons in the industrial groups and with persons in the agricultural groups. Factors utilized in matching were sex, age, intelligence, education, nationality, citizen-

ship, profession, home district and home community type. The author believes that if persons experiencing the different levels of oppression as represented by the three groups chosen for study were matched on the indicated variables, one could be reasonably certain that if any differences between the groups were found to exist, these differences could be then attributed to the operation of factors associated with the different levels of oppression to which the groups had been subjected.

The first phase of the study involved the selection of displaced persons for study confined in prisons or living in Polish and Jewish Displaced Persons' Camps. After considerable exploration the author decided to confine his study to Poles and Jews and proceeded to interview and to examine 102 persons of Polish or Jewish origin in three prisons under American jurisdiction. These persons were given the Otis Intelligence Test in order to determine their suitability for further study. The results of this examination indicated that more than half of these prisoners did not possess enough intelligence to warrant further study. Fifty prisoners were finally selected for further study, 30 of whom were utilized in the comparisons made of persons falling into the three categories of oppression.

Out of 4,100 persons living in Displaced Persons' Camps, 650 were given the Otis test. Two hundred and thirty persons were selected for further study and 122 of them were employed in the comparative analyses.

The instruments used to assess the personality and emotional characteristics of the persons studied were the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study and a shortened version of the Thematic Apperception Test.

The study of the data collected with the Picture-Frustration device seemed to suggest that delinquents in contrast to non-delinquents tended to exhibit more extrapunitive (aggression turned outward) characteristics. These results would seem to indicate that delinquency is associated with extrapunitive tendencies. It was also found that displaced persons with concentration camps experience, representing the most severe form of oppression, had an unusually high delinquency rate. The delinquency rate for persons with such experience was 45 times greater than the delinquency rate for persons with forced industrial and agricultural labor experiences. Of interest too, are the findings that seem to suggest that different levels of oppression are associated with different amounts of extrapunitive tendencies. The more severe forms of oppression seem to produce more extrapunitive characteristics.

The results achieved by the use of the

Thematic Apperception Test are also of significance. In general it was found that delinquents with concentration camps experience tended to produce stories centering upon aggression, hostility, frustration and personal problems; while delinquents who experienced less severe forms of oppression revealed by their response to the T.A.T. that they regarded themselves as inadequate, rejected (by mother) and guilty. There was also evidence to indicate that non-delinquents differed in their characteristics as revealed by the T.A.T. in accordance with levels of oppression.

This monograph, it is believed, represents a serious and highly important attempt to study systematically what happens to mankind under the brutalizing conditions of warfare. It is also a contribution to the field of criminal psychology. It deserves serious study.

ELIO D. MONACHEST

University of Minnesota

Comparative Population and Urban Research via Multiple Regression and Covariance Analysis. By DONALD J. BOGUE and DOROTHY L. HARRIS. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1954. vii, 75 pp. Ninety cents.

The relatively short length of this volume is no indication of the contribution which it makes nor of the work which has gone into its preparation. In brief summary the monograph

is a report of an experimental study aimed at discovering how this needed group research, which not only describes but also explains, can be performed. . . . For both metropolitan growth and suburbanization it (is) shown that there was much area-to-area variation, and that the average trends were characteristic of only a small minority of metropolitan areas. The analysis then undertakes to account for this variation among the areas in terms of factors that could be thought pertinent (p. 1).

Part II of Chapter 1 deals with The Application of Multiple Regression and Covariance Techniques to Comparative Group Analysis and should be studied carefully by every student of social statistics not already familiar with covariance techniques.

The remaining four chapters of the book deal with Factors in Metropolitan Growth, Factors in Degree of Suburbanization, Factors in Rate of Suburbanization, and Factors in Central City Growth respectively. A variety of variables is used in an attempt to account for the variations between cities, and the proportion of the total variation that is statistically explained is indicated. The authors make a useful distinction between variables that are im-

portant in the statistical explanation and variables that are also useful theoretically. The volume is by no means intended to be the last word on the subject it treats. It makes an effort to show major gaps in our knowledge and should serve as a beginning point for a great deal of additional research in the area.

While prediction is a major goal in this area, the authors make the very important point that "Until it is possible to account for the experience of a decade whose outcome is known (doing this in terms of variables that fit into a theoretical frame and for which a high degree of stability can be expected), the problem of forecasting should remain of secondary importance" (p. 3).

The Appendix on Computing Methods for Multiple Regression and Covariance Analysis includes a useable computing form for getting multiple regression equations which is built on an adaptation of Dwyer's Square Root Method.

The volume makes a real contribution to urban research and has demonstrated in a stimulating way the utility of a particular set of techniques.

DANIEL O. PRICE

University of North Carolina

Dynamic Urban Sociology. Edited by WILLIAM E. COLE. Harrisburg, Penna.: The Stackpole Company, 1954. vii, 336 pp. \$3.95.

This book has been designed primarily as a text for urban sociology courses and with the desire of giving the student a "rich volume of knowledge of urban society" as well as "something he could apply as he lives and works in urban and rural-urban situations after his college days." The former goal can be assessed. Whether or not the latter desire of the editor can be realized would remain to be seen and cannot be evaluated here. In part, it would depend upon the quality of instruction, which the authors have attempted to assist by listing a series of questions and problems after each chapter as well as a relatively detailed bibliography. The eleven contributors to the volume include in their number not only sociologists but also specialists in other areas, such as educational administration and urban welfare services.

Twenty chapters cover the material that has come to be expected from an urban text: history, statistics of urban growth and rural-urban differentials, institutions, problems and urban planning. However, titles alone could not convey the particular emphasis and orientation of the present book, which differs in major aspects from others in the field. Generally, this means a proportionately greater stress upon urban institutions and a minimal treatment of

ecology. Twelve pages are allotted to ecology, compared to the ratio of one-fourth or one-third found in other texts; a chapter is devoted to rural-urban contrasts in socialization, which is seldom included in others; and about one-third of the present small volume is given to a description of urban social institutions, which gives the book its emphasis.

The advantages that might have been gained by this emphasis, and this reviewer believes there are many, are marred unfortunately by some unevenness. Some chapters are seriously understressed and given minimal space. There seems to be no clear rationale for this, especially in the case of government and economic institutions. Several chapters suffer by being little more than a cataloguing of services or of the administrative structures associated with the particular institution. This is hardly an adequate treatment of what should be a discussion of the place, function, and characteristics of social institutions in the urban setting. The two chapters on religion and the urban church, on the other hand, are more serious attempts to grapple with those questions and deserve special mention. The remaining chapters, such as those on the class system and the family, are adequate although given relatively more space than seems necessary in view of the above comments.

Statistics on the city are informative, recent and liberally given, which compares favorably with that presented in books twice the size.

No attempt at formulating a systematic theory of urban society was undertaken by the authors, and they cannot be held responsible for a task that sociologists in the field as a whole must share. Nevertheless, one cannot help but wonder what future texts would be like if they had a hard theoretical core from which to begin.

LEONARD REISSMAN

Tulane University

Social Stratification in the United States. By JOHN F. CUBER and WILLIAM F. KENKEL. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954. x, 359 pp. \$4.00.

During the last twenty years there has been a tremendous outpouring of monographs and articles reporting the findings of research in the field of social stratification. These have been followed by the inevitable reviews, critiques, and bibliographies. Now at long last the cycle is completed with the appearance of the first formal textbook.

The goal of this text, as stated by the authors, is to provide for "advanced students a reasonably inclusive and consistent concept of the

field of stratification, a basic vocabulary, some of the main ideas and issues, and a representative cross section of the empirical materials and critical analyses of them." However, as the title indicates, the concern of the text is limited to stratification in the United States.

The text is divided into three major sections. In the first section Cuber introduces the student to basic assumptions and concepts necessary to an understanding of the subsequent material. Here the student is cautioned against the many semantic and methodological pitfalls into which one may so easily fall in discussions of stratification. Here, also, the student is alerted to three controversial issues which provide the framework around which the text is built. These are: (1) the problem of whether stratification in the United States can be dealt with adequately in uni-dimensional terms; (2) the problem of whether individuals are ranked in discrete classes or in continuous series; and (3) the problem of whether the American system of stratification is functional, and if so, in what sense.

In the second section of the text Kenkel examines in detail (a chapter apiece) eight empirical studies of stratification, most of which are well known in the profession. These are summarized for the student and critically evaluated to see what light they throw upon the problems stated above.

In the final section Cuber resumes the more general discussion of the three basic problems and raises several others. Mobility and "the American dream," class consciousness, the class struggle, and the power concept each receive brief attention. The final chapter of the text essays an evaluation of the American system of stratification in the light of certain widely held American values, and closes with a short statement on the probable future of this system.

This book has a number of attractive features. Its style is simple and straightforward. The summaries of empirical studies in the second section will prove a convenience to many. The chief virtue of this book, however, is to be found in the critical view of the class concept adopted by the authors. Approaching the concept with the wariness of semanticists and methodologists, they are constantly on the alert for reification and overgeneralization in the literature. Needless to say, they find ample evidence of both. The authors reject not only the view of classes as discrete units within the community or nation, but also the view of social stratification which presumes that a given population can be stratified in terms of a single vertical dimension. It is the authors' contention (based on the examination of empirical

materials in the second section of the book) that the American system of stratification is more profitably viewed as a multi-dimensional system in which units are normally ranked in continuous series.

Unfortunately, the chief virtue of this book tends to become its chief vice. So much attention is devoted to the debunking of traditional views of class that insufficient space is left for the treatment of many important problems. Thus, the problems of change receive little attention. Treatment of the important problem of whether stratification is a functional necessity gets condensed into a very small space. Power relationships, elite groups, the American "caste" system, and even mobility receive much less attention than many will feel they deserve. This seems unfortunate in a basic text in stratification.

Finally, one might wish that the authors had not chosen to restrict their presentation to the confines of American society, since so many insights into the nature of our American system of stratification can be conveyed to the student by means of the comparative approach.

Despite such shortcomings, this text will undoubtedly prove a useful teaching aid for many, and merits the attention of all those offering courses in the area.

GERHARD E. LENSKI

University of Michigan

The Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States. By JOHN H. BURMA. Durham: Duke University Press, 1954. xiii, 214 pp. \$4.00.

The publication of a book on the Spanish-speaking groups in our country is timely. Now that European immigration has for several decades been severely restricted, groups sustaining long-continuing cultural ties with nearby portions of Latin America have come to constitute one of our largest and most distinctive minorities. Yet they have not received attention commensurate with their importance. Although some excellent special studies have appeared, over-all analysis, paralleling to any degree that of our Negro minority, has been slow to develop, and treatment in the standard texts has for the most part been confused or inadequate. A good general statement is needed.

Although Dr. Burma's book may help direct attention to the problems of some of these groups, it does not represent a step towards a more definite analysis of the place of the minority in American society. Without even a brief introductory chapter to provide orientation, the author launches directly into detailed treatment of each of the groups he has chosen to include: the Hispanos of New Mexico, the

Mexican Americans, the Filipinos, and the Puerto Ricans of New York. Three of his six chapters are devoted to the Mexican Americans, and one chapter to each of the other three groups. Dr. Burma does well to distinguish the Hispanos, or descendants of Spanish colonials from the recent Mexican immigration, a point which is often confused.

It is clear from his preface that the author did not write the book with the interests of the sociologist primarily in mind. Here he declares that "Although good books exist on every minority group discussed, they are not readily available nor readily comprehensible." For this reason he has attempted "to present compactly yet understandably the more significant aspects of the life and conditions of each of our Spanish-speaking groups so that such information may be easily available to the growing number of people who desire it." The book represents a condensation and simplification of material already published in the classic studies, in special economic and educational investigations, and in articles scattered through the professional journals. Although Dr. Burma has apparently had first-hand contact with certain of the groups he treats, he does not present any new material in a systematic fashion, nor does he include recent statistical data.

The quality of the book is uneven, reflecting in part the strengths and weaknesses of existing literature on the groups. An impression of superficiality is often given, especially when cultural aspects are under discussion. Treatment of economic problems is much more satisfactory. The three-chapter section on the Mexican Americans is one of the best, presenting a clear, readable, and informative survey of their history in this country, their institutions, their economic status, and their problems. The chapter on the Puerto Ricans of New York also offers a useful condensation of the two or three major recent studies of these people. The chapter on the Hispanos, which opens the book, glosses over many complex issues related to the racial origins of the group, its class structure, political role in the state, and place in the urban community, but gives a fair summary of the problems of the rural community and programs designed for their aid. The chapter on the Filipino Americans tends to detract from the unity of the book by introducing a group with Asiatic affiliations, who can only to a limited extent be classed as Spanish-speaking.

Although this small volume can hardly be considered a significant contribution to minority group literature, it may serve as a helpful introduction to the problems of Spanish-speaking people for many readers.

CAROLYN ZELENY

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